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Anglické participiální polovětné konstrukce a jejich české překladové protějšky

English Participial Clauses and Their Czech Translation Counterparts

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V Praze, dne 23. 8. 2013

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ABSTRAKT

Cílem této diplomové práce je analyzovat a popsat české překladové protějšky anglických polovětných konstrukcí tvořených přítomným participiem nebo participiem perfekta, a to ve funkci postmodifikátoru a příslovečného určení. Ačkoliv v češtině existuje formální protějšek anglického participia – přechodník – je tento tvar považován za velmi příznakový a archaický. Na základě analýzy 210 vět excerpovaných ze tří děl současné americké beletrie popisuje práce pravidelné postupy, jichž se využívá při překladu zmiňovaných forem do češtiny. Potvrdila se zjištění předchozích studií, že zatímco angličtina upřednostňuje nominální a verbo-nominální způsoby vyjadřování, čeština spoléhá spíše na vyjadřování slovesné. Mezi překladovými protějšky převládají divergentní způsoby překladu, zejména finitní věty souřadně spojené s protějškem anglické věty hlavní. Ačkoli je překlad participia určitým tvarem slovesným explicitnější, koordinace obou vět v češtině umožňuje zachování vágnosti sémantického vztahu mezi nimi, typického pro participiální polovětné konstrukce.

Klíčová slova: participium, participiální věta, polovětná konstrukce, přechodník, postmodifikátor, přívlastek, adverbiale, příslovečné určení, překladové protějšky

ABSTRACT

The aim of this diploma thesis is to analyse and describe the Czech translation counterparts of English present- and perfect-participial clauses which function as postmodifiers and adverbials. Although there is a formal counterpart of the English participle – the transgressive – this form is considered very marked and archaic in Czech. Therefore, based on an analysis of 210 sentences excerpted from three American works of contemporary fiction, the thesis describes the recurrent patterns used in the translation of the forms in question. The analysis confirmed the findings of previous studies that while English prefers nominal and verbo-nominal means of expressions, Czech relies rather on verbal expression. The majority of the translation counterparts are divergent correspondences, above all finite clauses connected paratactically to the counterpart of the matrix clause. Although the translation of a participle by a finite verb form is more explicit, the coordinative relation makes it possible to retain the semantic indeterminacy of the relation between the clauses which is specific for participial constructions.

Key words: participle, participial clause, transgressive, postmodifier, adverbial, translation counterparts

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ABBREVIATIONS

CGEL *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*

CamGEL *Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*

MSA *Mluvnice současné angličtiny na pozadí češtiny*

OED *Oxford English Dictionary*

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1 INTRODUCTION

Contrastive studies of the English language as compared with Czech have a long history within the tradition of the Prague linguistic school. The aim of this thesis is to contribute to the already existing studies on the issue of the different manner of expression of the two languages, namely the preference for nominal and verbo-nominal expression in English against verbal expression in Czech. Specifically, these tendencies are manifested on the syntactic level by the frequent use of non-finite verb forms in English where Czech usually employs a finite clause. The focus of this paper is to compare English present- and perfect-participial clauses functioning as adverbials and postmodifiers with their Czech translations.

Based on the brief description just given, the expectation is a high frequency of finite clauses replacing the English participles. From the point of view of translating these forms into Czech, the main issues are, first, the ambiguous semantics of participial clauses which are rarely introduced by a conjunction that would specify their semantic role, and second, the absence of the subject of the non-finite form which has to be retrieved from the context, either textual or in some cases situational. For this reason, part 2 of this thesis describes the formal properties of participial clauses with special attention to the identification of the implied subject and the nature of their semantic indeterminacy.

One of the means to study the ways of expressing the same content in different languages is the use of electronic parallel corpora which was also the source of material for our analysis. The analysis, which will be described in detail in parts 3 and 4, will be based on a sample of 210 participial clauses excerpted from three works of American contemporary fiction. These will be analysed in terms of their semantic role, position (if relevant), and the presence or absence of a subordinator; the description of the results will be based on the grouping of the Czech counterparts as congruent or divergent, i.e. syntactically identical or different.

2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Non-Finite Verb Forms

The English non-finite verb forms are the infinitive, the participle, and the gerund. Compared to finite verb forms, they are morphologically impoverished as they only express some of the morphological categories, namely voice and tense. Moreover, their temporal meaning is always only relational and dependent on the finite verb of the superordinate clause; all non-finite forms have separate past or perfect forms to express anteriority and present forms which express simultaneity or consecutiveness, irrespective of the tense of the main verb. As a consequence of this lack of morphological information, non-finite verb phrases can never function as the predicate verb of an independent clause – they can only occur in complex verb phrases and function as various clause elements or as predicates of non-finite clauses. This is the main criterion for distinguishing finite and non-finite verb phrases used by Quirk et al. as they describe a finite verb phrase as “a verb phrase in which the first or only word is a finite verb, the rest of the verb phrase (if any) consisting of nonfinite verbs; on the other hand, a nonfinite verb phrase contains nonfinite verb forms only.” (*CGEL*: 149)

However, they do not see the distinction as a binary contrast but introduce a gradient scale of finiteness based on the following five criteria: 1) finite verb phrases can occur as the verb phrase of independent clauses; 2) they express the distinction between present and past tenses; 3) they express grammatical concord between the subject and the predicate; 4) they contain, as their first or only word, a finite verb form, either as an operator or a simple present or past form; and 5) finite verb phrases have mood. On this scale, the indicative mood represents the most finite verb form while the infinitive the least finite one. This scale makes it also possible to emphasize the lower degree of finiteness of the imperative and subjunctive moods which consist of the base form in all persons and thus do not express the concord in

person and number, but cannot yet be called non-finite as they express mood and occur in independent clauses. (ibid.: 149-150)

Syntactically, non-finite verb forms retain their verbal characteristics, most importantly their valency. Thus, they can be complemented on the basis of the basic clause patterns and they can form secondary predications of diverse complexity. These non-finite clauses can fulfil a whole range of syntactic functions: the infinitives and gerunds can alternate with other nominal elements and function, for example, as the subject or object of a clause; the participle, on the other hand, usually forms adverbial or postmodifying clauses. The fact that non-finite clauses are often preferred to finite clauses where both could fill the same syntactic position contributes to the syntactic condensation of the English sentence.

2.1.1 Terminology

The sources referred to throughout this thesis differ with respect to the labels used for the non-finite forms and to the setting of boundaries between them. While the infinitive is treated consistently in the English grammars, the participle and the gerund, which can share the same *-ing* form in the case of present participles, seem to pose definitional problems. The approach of Dušková et al. (2009) can be contrasted with that of the English grammars: while Dušková et al. consider the gerund and the participle separate forms distinguished by their syntactic behaviour (chapter 8.85.2), Huddleston & Pullum (2002), Quirk et al. (1985), and Biber et al. (1999) all subsume the two forms under a single category.

According to Huddleston & Pullum (2002) two forms are to be distinguished: past participle and gerund-participle, which is the common form of the gerund and the present participle. They argue that in contemporary language, the distinction between these two forms is irrelevant since no verb, not even *be*, has distinct forms for them; thus, they use “the compound term ‘gerund-participle’ for the verb-form, as there is no reason to give priority to one or other of the traditional terms” (*CamGEL*: 82-83). Huddleston & Pullum (2002) also point out the relationship between the gerund-participle and the past participle, which can both serve as modifiers of nouns. In their view, no viable syntactic distinction can be drawn

between gerund and participial clauses either: they classify these clauses as complement or non-complement gerund-participials. Quirk et al. (1985) as well as Biber et al. (1999) do not employ the term gerund at all. They use only the term participle, divided into the *-ing* participle, covering the distribution of both present participle and the gerund, and the *-ed* participle. As can be seen from the following quotation, the decision to subsume the gerund and the present participle under one label is based on their form, regardless of their different origin and syntactic behaviour: “The *-ing* participle is sometimes called the ‘present participle’, and the *-ed* participle is sometimes called the ‘past participle’ or, with transitive verbs, the ‘passive participle’. Since these terms are potentially misleading, we prefer to use terms which are descriptive only of morphological form.” (CGEL: 98n)

The approach adopted in this thesis is that of the Czech *MSA* where the distinction is made between the present, perfect and past participles, as well as between the participles and the gerund. We believe that once the relational temporal meanings of the participles are taken into consideration, the labels *present* and *past* do not raise ambiguities as to their interpretation, and that they allow more exact description. Even more important for a syntactic analysis is the distinction between the present participle and the gerund. This distinction will be kept in this paper as the two forms come from historically different sources and thus display different syntactic behaviour. Our focus is on clauses functioning as adverbials or postmodifiers, neither of which is normally fulfilled by a gerund (which is of nominal character) unless it is preceded by a preposition.

2.2 The Present Participle

The participle is a verb form found in complex verb phrases: the past participle in perfect tenses and passive constructions, the present participle in progressive tenses. As a head of non-finite phrases or clauses, they function mostly as adverbials and modifiers; the perfect participle, however, is only used in the adverbial function. All forms of the participle can be seen in Table 1; the focus of this thesis is on those treated under the single heading “*-ing* participles” in the English grammars, i.e. the present and perfect participles. As has been

already mentioned, the same suffix also forms the gerund and certain adjectives; the next sections, 2.2.1 and 2.2.2, will therefore focus on the differences between these word classes and the clues for distinguishing them.

PARTICIPLE		active	passive
present		<i>using</i> <i>writing</i>	<i>being used</i> <i>being written</i>
perfect	simple	<i>having used</i> <i>having written</i>	<i>having been used</i> <i>having been written</i>
	progressive	<i>having been using</i> <i>having been written</i>	
past		<i>used</i> <i>written</i>	

Table 1: The participial forms (MSA: 8.85.3)

As a predicate of non-finite clauses, the present participle expresses actions simultaneous with those of the main clause, irrespective of the tense of the finite verb: *We lined up in the cold, not noticing the cold, waiting for the doors to open.* (MSA: 8.85.3) According to Huddleston & Pullum, “it is called ‘present’ participle because the time associated with it is characteristically the same as that expressed or implied in the larger construction containing it” (CamGEL: 80). Thus it follows that the present participle is not limited to the expression of the progressive meaning associated with the finite *-ing* phrase and there are many examples of a stative meaning, e.g.: *Being an enemy of the Duke's, he left the court immediately.* (CGEL: 238) The progressive contrast, however, is sometimes available when the participle contrasts with an infinitive in the same position, especially after verbs of perception. The infinitive then implies a nonrecurring or completed action as opposed to repetitive or lasting actions; compare the following pairs: *I saw them shoot at him.* ~ *I saw them shooting at him.* *I watched them climb the tower.* ~ *I watched them climbing the tower.* (ibid.) The passive form of the present participle also contrasts with the past participle in the same way: *I saw the tower climbed by a student.* ~ *I saw the tower being climbed by a student.* (ibid.: 239)

The perfect participle usually expresses anteriority as in: *having been asked that question many times before I have a ready answer* (MSA: 8.85.3). It can also indicate the completeness of an action, i.e. the perfective aspect, depending on the context and

constructions it can contrast with, and as Quirk et al. point out “[d]istinctions of aspect are the only ones which are expressed within the constructional possibilities of a single nonfinite verb phrase.” (CGEL: 237-238) This perfective meaning is especially conspicuous in some adverbial clauses when contrasted with the present participle: *Eating a hearty breakfast, we prepared for our long journey.* ~ *Having eaten a hearty breakfast, we prepared for our long journey.* (ibid.) Like finite progressive forms, the progressive perfect participle expresses continuous actions or actions taking place at the moment of the utterance, e.g: *having been reading till long after midnight, I felt rather sleepy in the morning* (MSA: 8.85.3).

2.2.1 Participle vs. Adjective

Huddleston & Pullum define the (traditional) participle as follows: “The central idea in the traditional concept of participle is that it is a word formed from a verb base which functions as or like an adjective. A second general property of participles is that these words are also used in combination with an auxiliary to form a compound tense, aspect, mood, or voice.” (CamGEL: 78) Seeing the adjectival nature of the participle as one of its primary features is due to the fact that the present and past participles alternate with adjectives in the position of a subject complement or noun modifier. Moreover, many adjectives are derived from verbs, sharing the same form with the participle and thus often being difficult to distinguish from the latter. These are called “participial adjectives” by Huddleston & Pullum as they “take the verb to be more basic, with the adjective formed from it.” (CamGEL: 79)

In some cases the derived adjectives are formally different, as in the following pairs of participles and adjectives respectively: *drunk* ~ *drunken*, *shrunk* ~ *shrunk*, *shaved* ~ *shaven* (MSA: 6.7). In other cases, the difference is only semantic, the adjective and the participle having developed different meanings, e.g. *trying*, *calculating* (ibid.) More frequently, however, one has to examine the context for syntactic clues in order to determine the word class of the *-ing* word. These clues for distinguishing participial adjectives from participles, applicable to both present and past forms, were discussed in Mašková (2010: 12); the following three criteria were described there on the basis of the MSA and CamGEL:

- a) Adjectives can be intensified by *very* or *too*; intensification of verbs, on the other hand, requires phrases *very much* and *too much*, or a different group of words like *much*, *greatly*, etc. However, not all adjectives allow the modification by *very* and *too*, and with these words, different means of distinction must be used. Dušková et al. add to this criterion also the possibility to form comparative and superlative forms of adjectives whose meaning allows gradation. (MSA: 6.7)
- b) Adjectives can follow other copular verbs than *be*, e.g. *seem*, *appear*, *look* or *remain*, which do not take participial clauses as complement.
- c) Verbs usually keep their valency and require the same complementation they would have in their finite forms. Thus, while verbs like *surprise*, *amuse* or *interest* require an object, the respective participial adjectives *surprising*, *amusing* or *interesting* can stand without any further participants.

Nevertheless, in some contexts there are no sufficient clues available within the sentence and both interpretations are possible. Such examples can be found both among present participles: *she is trying*, *they are starving aborigines* (MSA: 6.7), and past participles: *It was broken*. (CamGEL: 79) The distinction may be especially difficult after the verb *be* which can be complemented by either of the word classes. Drawing a line between adjectives and participles on the level of individual words therefore seems irrelevant, not to say impossible. It is their syntactic behaviour that distinguishes them and thus the distinction is more relevant on the level of phrases and clauses. Huddleston & Pullum use the above example of *written* to conclude that:

it is not a matter of the word *written* itself having a function like that of an adjective, but of *written* being head of an expression whose function is like that of an expression headed by an adjective, i.e. of an AdjP. The functional resemblance is at the level not of words but of larger constituents, such as those underlined in *a letter written ten years ago* and *a very old letter*. At the level of words, verbs and adjectives differ significantly with respect to the dependents they take. (CamGEL: 79)

2.2.2 Participle vs. Gerund

Another word form which shares the *-ing* suffix with the present participle is the gerund. Table 2 shows an overview of the gerundial forms given in the *MSA* and it can be seen that the only difference in the structural possibilities of the present participle and the gerund is the lack of progressive forms for the latter.

GERUND	active	passive
present	<i>using</i> <i>writing</i>	<i>being used</i> <i>being written</i>
past	<i>having used</i> <i>having written</i>	<i>having been used</i> <i>having been written</i>

Table 2: The gerundival forms (adapted from *MSA*: 8.85.2)

On the basis of this structural identity, Huddleston & Pullum argue that the “distinction between gerund and present participle can't be sustained” as “[t]he historical difference is of no relevance to the analysis of the current inflectional system.” (*CamGEL*: 82) In spite of the definition of the gerund (contrasting with the previous definition of the participle) as a form which “is traditionally understood as a word derived from a verb base which functions as or like a noun” (ibid.: 81), they further argue that there are no syntactic reasons for distinguishing the forms either. What they distinguish then are participial adjectives, the gerund-participles, and gerundial nouns, i.e. nouns derived from verbs by the same *-ing* suffix as the gerund-participle, a construction parallel to participial adjectives.

Quirk et al. share this approach as they “do not find it useful to distinguish a gerund from a participle, but terminologically class all the *-ing* items as participles. [...] By avoiding the binary distinction of gerund and participle, we seek to represent more satisfactorily the complexity of the different participial expressions as we move along the gradient to the ‘most verbal’ end.” (*CGEL*: 1292n). In other words, they do not dismiss the distinction between the gerund and the present participle altogether; rather they treat it in a similar way as finiteness, i.e. as a gradient phenomenon that can be described in terms of a scale with central nouns at one end and verbs at the other. For example the word *painting* can be analysed in several ways depending on the context; it can be 1) “a perfectly regular concrete count noun”, called a

“deverbal noun”, as in *some paintings of Brown’s*; 2) an abstract noncount noun, called a “verbal noun” in *Brown’s deft painting of his daughter*; 3) a gerund, which can combine nominal and verbal characteristics (e.g. the presence of a determiner and adverbial modification respectively), in *Brown’s deftly painting his daughter*; or 4) a purely participial form in a finite verb phrase *Brown is painting his daughter*. (ibid.: 1290-92).

While acknowledging the above arguments as valid in light of the current state of the English language, we believe that the merging of the gerund and the participle is only possible for individual words. However, on the level of phrases and clauses, the differences between them are too conspicuous to allow such simplification. This view is further supported by the approach of Kortmann in his monograph on the interpretation of free adjuncts and absolutes. First, in his theoretical introduction to these non-finite clauses, he classifies their possible heads as “either a present participle, a past participle, or an infinitive.” (Kortmann, 1991: 6-10) Further, he stresses the importance of distinguishing them from “related but different constructions”, such as nominal *-ing* clauses. Although in some of these the *-ing* form “is still felt to be participial [...] a stylistically more formal variant can be set up [for each] in which the *-ing* form has obtained the status of a noun phrase, and thus needs to be regarded as a gerund.” Compare, for example, the following pair of a traditional participle and a gerund respectively: *Women having the vote reduces man’s political power.* ~ *Women’s having the vote reduces man’s political power.* (ibid.: 13)

Let us now summarize the reasons supporting the view of gerunds and participles as two separate forms. First of all, the gerund and the present participle are of a different historical origin, each derived from a formally distinct suffix. The gerund developed from the Old English suffix *-ung/-ing* whose “original function [...] was to form nouns of action” (*OED*: *-ing*, suffix1)¹ The present participle, on the other hand, originates from the Old English suffix *-ende/-inde*; however, “there was a growing tendency to confuse *-inde*,

¹ “-ing, suffix1”. *OED Online*. June 2013. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/95703> [last accessed 15 June 2013]

phonetically or scribally, with *-inge*” (*OED*: -ing, suffix2)² Both suffixes thus became identical in the course of the 14th century which is commented on in the *OED*:

As *-inge* was the proper ending of the vbl. n., it has naturally suggested itself to many that the levelling of the pres. pple. under the same form must have been the result of some contact or confusion of the functions or constructions of the two formations. But investigation has discovered no trace of any such functional or constructional contact in Early Middle English; and it is now generally agreed that the confusion was, in its origin, entirely phonetic. On the other hand, the fact that the *forms* had, by the 14th c., become identical, may have been a factor in the development of the gerundial use of the vbl. n., which began then; and it has certainly influenced the subsequent development of the compound gerundial forms *being made, having made, having been made, being about to go*, etc., which have the same form as the corresponding participles. (*OED*: -ing, suffix2)

Second, they display different behaviour on the phrasal level, even when occurring in the same syntactical position. If the present participle and the gerund occur in the same syntactical position, they are usually distinguished by their form and possible paraphrase. In the position of attribute, the difference is in intonation and stress placement, the gerund having a falling intonation with the main stress at the beginning of a phrase, e.g. *melting point* (= *the point of melting*), and the participle being stressed on both words (the attribute and the head noun), e.g. *melting snow* (= *snow that is melting*) (*MSA*: 8.85.2). If paraphrased, the gerundial construction would become a prepositional phrase while the participle can be replaced by a subordinate clause: *drinking water* = *water for drinking* ~ *running water* = *water that runs* (ibid: 15.24). Finally, the formation of participial premodifiers is usually further restricted to intransitive verbs or transitive verbs whose object can be omitted, and in most cases it expresses a characteristic or permanent quality, e.g. *developing countries, an entertaining person*, but also *deafening noise* where the quality is temporary (ibid: 15.31.1).

Third, gerunds and participles, and the respective gerundial and participial clauses, cover different syntactical functions. The gerund, being of nominal character, can function as

² “-ing, suffix2”. *OED Online*. June 2013. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/95704> [last accessed 15 June 2013]

the subject, the object, the subject complement, a modifier, or an adverbial. The participle, on the other hand, functions as the object complement, a modifier, or an adverbial. Huddleston & Pullum summarize these functions as complement or non-complement uses: “In terms of the traditional analysis, the non-complement uses all involve participles, while the complement uses contain primarily gerunds but also some participles.” (*CamGEL*: 1188) These labels thus correspond to our distinction between gerundial and participial clauses. The only two functions where both can occur are those of a modifier and an adverbial. As premodifiers, the *-ing* forms do not develop into clauses so the above comments on phrases containing them can be applied here. In contrast, the paraphrases mentioned in the previous paragraph showed the behaviour of *-ing* postmodifiers – the gerund becomes a part of a prepositional phrase while participles follow the noun directly. In the function of an adverbial, the gerund tends to be preceded by a preposition while the participle by a conjunction, which reflects their respective nominal and verbal character: *on reading his letter* ~ *while reading his letter* (*MSA*: 8.85.2).

2.3 The Syntactical Functions of Participial Clauses

In spite of the lack of morphological information carried by non-finite forms, they still keep their verbal characteristics, above all their valency. This enables them to develop secondary predications corresponding to the basic clause patterns. In other words, “[w]e recognize nonfinite and verbless structures as clauses because we can analyse their internal structure into the same functional elements that we distinguish in finite clauses.” (*CGEL*: 992) Since the aim of this paper is to analyse translations of participial clauses and many participles appear only as individual words, the boundary should be made clear between a phrase and a clause. Quirk et al. “recognize a structure as a clause only when it is describable in terms of clausal rather than phrasal structure.” (*ibid.*) The vital components for a construction to be considered a clause are above all the predicate and its subject. Although usually unexpressed, the subject of participial clauses is typically retrievable from the context. Other complements of the verb, however, may also remain unexpressed, which makes distinguishing between phrases and clauses more complicated as in *I enjoy teaching*. (*ibid.*:

93n) Here, “[t]eaching may be a noun phrase with only a head or a clause with only a verb.” (ibid.) Of the syntactic functions mentioned above, only a premodifier never develops into a clause; as far as the other functions are considered, some remarks on their properties will be made in the following paragraphs.

2.3.1 Modifying Clauses

Postmodifying participles are usually complemented by the object of the verb or by an adverbial. In fact, their complementation is the reason for their postposition which operates on the basis of the principle of end-weight. It is for this reason that premodifiers cannot be realized by clauses. A postmodifying participial construction cannot be considered an ellipsis of a progressive form since also verbs that do not form progressive tenses can function as modifiers: *packages weighing over twenty pounds* (MSA: 15.31.1). Participial modifiers neutralize the aspectual contrast between current and general actions: *the children going to school* = *the children who go to school* ~ *the children who are going to school* (ibid.), and they do not usually express the perfective aspect: *The man who has won the race is my brother.* ~ ?**The man having won the race is my brother.* (CGEL: 1264). Thus, the perfect participle is not used in the function of a noun modifier although it might be acceptable in structures with an indefinite noun phrase as head: ?*Any person or persons having witnessed the attack is under suspicion.* (ibid.) The implied subject of all participial postmodifiers is their antecedent in the main clause.

2.3.2 Participial Postmodifier vs. Object Complement

If a postmodifying participle is complemented by other elements, and thus obligatorily postponed, it becomes formally identical with the object complement. The latter is, however, dependent on both the object and the verb as in *I caught him leaving the house.* (MSA: 15.33); moreover, only a small group of verbs allow participial complementation (for example verbs of perception; *send*, *set*, *get* and *have* with causative meaning; *catch*, *find* and others). Similar participial constructions in final positions are unclear in most cases and may attach both to the

object and the subject; here, another possible analysis is that of an adverbial clause dependent on the subject.

2.3.3 Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial participial clauses can be introduced by a conjunction or they can be linked to the matrix clause *asyndetically*. Following a conjunction, the present participle expresses mostly temporal relations in adverbial clauses of time (after *once, till, until, when, whenever, while, whilst*), and accompanying circumstances. It appears also in clauses of comparison (after *as, as if, as though*), of concession (following *if, even if, while*), and marginally in clauses of condition (after *if, unless*) which can be expressed also by means of absolute participial constructions, e.g. *weather permitting, ...* (CGEL: 1090). Besides these examples of adjuncts, the participle occurs frequently in comment clauses, the so called style disjuncts.

Asyndetically linked clauses lose the only overt indication of their semantic role, i.e. the conjunction. These are called *supplementive clauses* and they can be ambiguous both formally and semantically. The meaning of supplementive clauses must be inferred from the sentential or broader context and they can express various relationships; “according to context, we may wish to imply temporal, conditional, causal, concessive, or circumstantial relationship. In short, the supplementive clause implies an accompanying circumstance to the situation described in the matrix clause.” (CGEL: 1124) The semantic properties of supplementive clauses will be discussed in more detail in section 2.5.

Furthermore, Quirk et al. note that “[i]n their indeterminacy, adverbial participle and verbless clauses resemble the versatile relationships expressed by nonrestrictive relative clauses and the connective function of the coordinator *and*.” (CGEL: 1123) Supplementive clauses can often alternate with relative clauses but unlike them, they do not always follow their antecedent (in case of supplementive clauses their implied subject) but they can also occupy the initial or the final position in the sentence. However, in the position immediately after the antecedent, it may be impossible and, according to Quirk et al., “semantically unimportant”, to distinguish the two types of clauses.

A third possible interpretation of participial clauses immediately following a nominal phrase is that of the object complement which also occurs in the same position, e.g. as in *they found him dying* (MSA: 15.33). All three analyses may be applicable to a single sentence and Quirk et al. give an example of such triple meaning in *I caught the boy waiting for my daughter*. The possible paraphrases are: 1) “I caught the boy while I was waiting for my daughter.” (supplementive clause); 2) “I caught the boy in the act of waiting for my daughter.” (object complement); 3) “I caught the boy who was waiting for my daughter.” (post-modifier) (CGEL: 1126). Only such cases are always adverbial where the participle is formed from an auxiliary verb or *be* e.g. *The children, having eaten their fill, were allowed to leave the table*. (ibid.: 1125)

Three important issues were mentioned here which are important from the point of view of translating participial clauses into Czech: the syntactic status of the participle, the identity of its subject, and its semantic role. The means of distinguishing the syntactic function of the participle were already described in some detail. Identifying the subject of supplementive clauses, which is only implied in the original, is important because it must be specified by the translator. Since the most frequent Czech translation of participial clauses is a finite clause and the Czech language expresses the grammatical concord between the subject and the verb, the subject becomes overtly manifest in the conjugation of the Czech verb. Similarly, unless coordinated, Czech finite clauses are not linked asyndetically so their semantic role is made explicit – and possibly narrower – depending on the conjunction introducing it. Therefore, the next sections focus on these issues: 2.4 describes the attachment rules for the identification of the unexpressed subject while 2.5 deals with the semantics of adverbial participial clauses.

2.4 The Subject of Adverbial Participial Clauses

As has been already mentioned, adverbial participial clauses can be linked to the matrix clause by a subordinator or asyndetically. Some cases of participles following a conjunction allow the interpretation of an ellipsis of the subject and the finite verb, e.g.

Whether (he is) working or not, he has an air of an exceedingly busy man. (MSA: 15.32.3) If such analysis is postulated, the participle is not a clause element (the predicate) but part of a complex verb phrase. While this interpretation is possible with some clauses, it is problematic with others like *While deeply respecting her ~ While I deeply respect her I can't help seeing her faults.* (ibid.). Therefore, the elliptical interpretation cannot be generalized and it cannot be considered a valid explanation of such constructions.

There are several structural types of adverbial participial clauses depending on the absence or presence of the subject and its identity. Usually asyndetically connected clauses with an overt subject, different from the subject of the superordinate clause, are called absolute clauses because they are “not explicitly bound to the matrix clause syntactically” (CGEL: 1120) although they are marked as subordinate by the non-finite form; e.g. *No further discussion arising, the meeting was brought to a close.* (ibid.) These constructions are not frequent and they are typical of formal written language. When the subject is not expressed, it is usually assumed to be identical with the subject of the matrix clause; these clauses are called by Quirk et al. supplementary clauses, e.g. *I lay on my bed, tossing restlessly.* (MSA: 15.32.1) Other cases where the subject is different from that of the superordinate clause, and is not identifiable from the context, are grammatically disputable and this type of construction – called unattached, suspended, or dangling participles – is often unacceptable unless in formal scientific language, e.g. **Having eaten our lunch, the rain stopped.* (ibid.: 15.32.5)

Nevertheless, there are exceptions where unattached clauses are acceptable; Quirk et al. list the following cases:

- a) Style disjuncts which comment on the manner of expression and whose subject is usually the speaker/writer or the general human agent, e.g. *Putting it mildly, you have caused us some inconvenience.* (CGEL: 1122)
- b) Cases where “[t]he implied subject is the whole of the matrix clause”: *The siren sounded, indicating that the air raid was over.* (ibid.)

c) Clauses whose implied subject is an indefinite pronoun: *When dining in the restaurant, a jacket and tie are required.* (ibid.); or an empty *it*: *Being Christmas, the government offices were closed.* (ibid.)

d) Unattached participles are frequent in formal academic writing; the implied subject is usually the authorial *we* or the general human agent including the authors and readers, e.g. *Having established a basis for this theory, the next step is to analyse the structure and properties of the components.* (MSA: 15.32.5) In these cases the participle often forms secondary prepositions or conjunctions like *concerning*, *regarding*, *supposing* etc.

Let us now compare this summary of the traditional approach with the theory of control postulated by Kortmann in his monograph *Free Adjuncts and Absolutes in English*. Kortmann's free adjuncts³ correspond to Quirk et al.'s supplementive clauses and the latter term will be retained in this thesis to employ a unified terminology. As far as the subject of these clauses is concerned, Kortmann distinguishes between related free adjuncts where the subject is identical with the subject of the superordinate clause, which "represents the default case", and unrelated free adjuncts where "there may (but need not) be another constituent in the matrix clause which serves as a clue-providing device for identifying the underlying subject." (Kortmann, 1991: 8) The second group corresponds to the unattached participles described above but it can be seen from the quotation that they are not completely unattached. In the course of his analysis, Kortmann shows that many of such participles are less objectionable than it may have been thought and that "[b]y far the majority of unrelated free adjuncts is fully acceptable. For those, however, which are totally unacceptable in isolation [...] the term *misrelated adjunct* or *dangling participle* is standardly employed." (ibid.: 9) In this view, the term *dangling participle* is much more restricted than in *CGEL*.

³ "The label *free adjunct* is far less problematic [than the term *absolute construction*], which can be seen from its frequent and largely unanimous use in linguistic theory for a construction which [...] qualifies as an adjunct," i.e. as an optional adverbial. "This adjunct is *free* in the sense that it is detached from the matrix clause, which more often than not is signalled by intonational breaking, or commas in writing." (Kortmann, 1991: 22)

We have already described some participial clauses in terms of their acceptability and relatedness; it must be added, however, that these properties do not bisect the class of supplementary clauses into acceptable and unacceptable or related and unrelated. Like finiteness itself, they should be viewed as two scales of which individual clauses express different degrees. As far as un/relatedness is concerned, Kortmann writes:

[t]he degree of unrelatedness is crucially determined, for example, by the syntactic overtness (or formal accessibility) of a constituent of the matrix clause which either serves as the controller of the S_{FA} ⁴ itself or provides, at least, the necessary clue for the identification of the controller. (Kortmann, 1991: 43)

Other controller than the subject of the matrix clause can be, for example, its object as in *He called, accordingly, at the latter's apartment, and found him in bed, staring at the ceiling and moaning in an undertone.* (ibid.); an example of a clue to the identification of the controller can then be a possessive a pronoun: *Looking out for a theme, several crossed his mind.* (ibid.) Similarly, “[n]ot all non- S_M -controlled free adjuncts are equally acceptable.” (ibid.: 44) As a note to the above list of acceptable unattached (i.e. unrelated) clauses, Quirk et al. say that “[t]he acceptability of unattached clauses perhaps varies according to how easily the particular hearer or reader can perceive the implied subject.” (CGEL: 1123n) This might suggest that an easy identification of the underlying subject, i.e. a lesser degree of unrelatedness, results in a more acceptable clause. As Kortmann emphasises, however, there is no such direct relationship between the two properties and in spite of an easily accessible controller, a clause may have a questionable degree of acceptability, e.g. *?Being the eldest, the responsibility fell particularly on my shoulders.* (ibid.: 1122); or the other way round, a clause with no overt indication of its subject can be fully acceptable as are the examples from the groups c) and d) in the above list. Kortmann concludes that “formal accessibility [of the controller of the S_{FA}] may be a factor contributing to a higher degree of acceptability, but [...] it can be overruled by other factors.” (Kortmann, 1991: 45) He then proceeds to give a list of

⁴ Kortmann employs the following abbreviations throughout his analysis: S_M = the subject of the matrix clause; S_{FA} = the underlying subject of free adjuncts; S_A = the subject of absolutes.

factors influencing the identification of the underlying subject of supplementary clauses as different from the subject of the matrix clause and to eventually suggest how the identity of the subject is arrived at.

First of all, it should be stressed that it is insufficient to restrict the search for the underlying subject only to the sentence containing the participial clause; in many cases the needed information may be provided by the preceding text or the situational context, as in the case of style disjuncts or the dangling participles in scientific writing. In other words, “[t]he language user will always try to make [...] the identification of the controller a successful one. For this purpose *all* available information, whether provided inside or outside the complex sentence, is drawn upon.” (Kortmann, 1991: 69) Second, the great majority of supplementary clauses – 91.5% of Kortmann’s corpus⁵ – is unproblematic in the sense that their subject is identical with the subject of the superordinate clause.

The factors signalling unrelatedness (of the implied subject of the adjunct and the matrix clause subject) can be divided into “two main classes according to whether they – on top of the fact that they do not admit an S_M-controlled reading – also preclude further search for a controller of the S_{FA}, both in the matrix clause and the context.” (Kortmann, 1991: 49) The first group comprises overt factors which indicate that the controller of the subject of the participial clause is present neither in the sentence containing it nor in the immediate context:

- 1) Clauses containing the participle *being* complemented by time or location can only have the empty or anticipatory *it* as their subject, e.g. *Being Sunday, all banks were closed.* (ibid.: 50) These are, however, very rare and, according to Kortmann, slightly archaic.
- 2) The subject of the so called speech-act qualifiers is always the speaker/writer or an inclusive *we* including also the audience. This group includes various style disjuncts but also listing or summative conjuncts, or viewpoint subjuncts.

⁵ Kortmann’s analysis is based on “nearly 1,700 free adjuncts and absolutes which have been taken from a text corpus comprising some 450,000 words. [...] The text material has been composed so as to represent not only written, but also spoken twentieth-century British and American English.” (Kortmann, 1991: 38)

3) A number of participles has undergone a shift to form secondary conjunctions or prepositions, e.g. *providing, considering, concerning*, etc. Since they have lost their verbal character, they can be “regarded as overt signals of the fact that an underlying subject need not even be looked for.” (ibid.: 52) In cases where the participle has not undergone a full shift to another class, the assumed subject is usually an indefinite pronoun or the author as in 2).

4) There is no subject which could be linked to the participial clause in imperative sentences, e.g. *Practise the following words..., not forgetting the few rules given above, and taking care not to impose English rhythm on the words - ...*” (ibid.: 53) The implied subject of such clauses can be either a deictic or anaphoric *you*, or the indefinite pronoun *one*.

The factors in the second group do not hinder the search for the controller of the underlying subject in the sentence containing the participial clause:

5) “[D]ummy subjects in the matrix clause serve as overt indicators of non-S_M-control,” e.g. *Driving at a speed of 100 m.p.h., it is not easy to read the road signs.* or *Cutting off her protest, there was a click as the caller hung up.* (ibid.: 54)

6) The subject of the matrix clause cannot be the controller of the underlying subject of a supplementary clause if there is a semantic clash between them, i.e. between the noun phrase functioning as the subject and the head of the non-finite phrase. In the following sentence, for example, there is a clash between an abstract subject and a head requiring a human agent: *Sitting quietly here, the memory stirred him.* (ibid.: 58)

7) Information from the preceding context may hinder the reading of the subject of the matrix clause as the controller, if it is clear that the same topic is being further developed.

8) World knowledge can prevent one from interpreting the subject of the matrix clause as the controller. This factor can account for examples of clauses whose subject is the whole matrix proposition (mentioned above in group b) of acceptable unattached clauses), or, for example, the following where the knowledge of social situations is responsible for the correct reading: *Having paid our bill, the waiter brought our hats.* (ibid.: 62)

9) “[T]he distance between a free adjunct and its potential controller(s) can be relevant for determining the implied S_{FA}, i.e. [...] control may be position-dependent.” (ibid.: 64) It has been already said that supplementary clauses can follow the controller of their subject (i.e. occupy a medial position) in the sentence; if there are more possible controllers, the nearest is therefore chosen as the valid one. Compare, for example, the changes in meaning if the word-order of the original first sentence is changed: *They called in the Yard, and the Yard... told them to apply to me, knowing the place and being on the spot.* ~ *They called in the Yard, and (, knowing the place and...,) the Yard (, knowing the place and...,) ... told them to apply to me.* (ibid.: 63)

On the basis of this list, Kortmann proposes further sub-classification of unrelated clauses into those with zero-control (e.g. imperatives in group 4); clauses with a covert controller where the subject is not present in the text and is usually controlled by an indefinite pronoun (other factors from the first group); and clauses with a recoverable controller (group 2 factors). As far as the last group of overt controllers is concerned, their function can be fulfilled by various elements in the matrix clause. The subject of the participial clause is often co-referential with some noun phrase in the matrix clause, e.g. its object, the subject complement, a prepositional complement, or part of a postmodifying *of*-phrase. In other cases, it can be co-referential with the referent of a possessive or reflexive pronoun. The controller can also be the whole matrix clause or it can be found outside the sentence in the preceding context.

Kortmann suggests that in order to arrive at the controller, the language user assesses its properties on the basis of the head of the supplementary clause. These are its semantic features (it has already been pointed out that a semantic clash leads to a choice of a different controller) and its expected thematic role, i.e. whether the subject is an agent, a patient, an experiencer etc. To illustrate this second condition of controllership, in the following sentence, the past participle requires a patient as its controller which is why the clause is interpreted as related with *he* (and not *her*) as the implied subject: *Seen so close, he struck her as older than she had imagined.* (Kortmann, 1991: 69) Once the expectations on the

properties of the controller are built, it can be found among one of its possible realizations described above. Where more controllers present themselves as valid, the position of the adverbial clause in the sentence can be the crucial factor determining the interpretation.

It is important to work with a comprehensive theory of control because the identity of the subject of participial clauses becomes of great importance in their translation into Czech. Although the processes responsible for the identification of the underlying subject are unconscious and automatic, they become partly manifest in the Czech translation as the subject becomes overt at least in the verbal ending of a finite counterpart of the participle. In the case of any discrepancies or ambiguities found in the translation, such a theory may help to find their source and identify other possible solutions.

2.5 The Semantic Indeterminacy of Participial Adverbial Clauses

The wide range of semantic roles available for supplementive clauses has already been hinted at in section 2.3.3. The problem of interpretation is especially important in translation where different syntactic constructions can be used (in the case of Czech finite clauses) and the translation often becomes more specific than the original. Some clauses may express such a high degree of ambiguity that more meanings are possible at the same time; moreover, every language user may decide for a different reading:

“Identifying the semantic relation between two propositions, [...] especially in the absence of a subordinating conjunction or connective specifying some adverbial role, to a much higher degree [than the identification of the subject controller] draws upon the knowledge, experience, convictions, and even imagination of the language user as well as on his/her capabilities of retrieving and evaluating information that may be relevant for this relation from the (not necessarily immediately) preceding context.” (Kortmann, 1991: 105)

Together, the identification of the underlying subject and the ambiguous semantics of adverbial participial clauses pose two major issues when translating them into Czech. They can also be interconnected in the sense that “the choice of the controller is independent of the

logical link between the free adjunct and its matrix clause, but may have a considerable impact on the selection of a particular interpretation.” (ibid.: 106)

Nevertheless, it should be stressed that the number of possible interpretations is not infinite. The list of possible semantic roles has been given above (see *CGEL*, Chapter 15 for the full list of adverbial semantic roles). Furthermore, Kortmann argues that “it is never the whole inventory which the language user has to choose from for a given free adjunct or absolute.” (Kortmann, 1991: 115) Rather, the interpretative process is limited to a subset of possible meanings which may alternate with each other. The basic meaning of participial clauses underlying all others is that of temporal relations (the relations of anteriority, simultaneity, and consecutiveness inherent in some non-finite forms have already been described together with their morphosyntactic properties). Kortmann gives the following examples of meaning subsets: “of two propositions in a complex sentence the one temporally prior may express a cause/reason or a condition for the other proposition; likewise the proposition following the other one in time may be read as consequence, result, or purpose of the latter.” (ibid: 116) These relationships work also in the opposite way – an anterior action cannot imply result and a posterior one will not be interpreted as a condition. It can be said that when interpreting a supplementary clause, its possible meanings are restricted to a subset formed around its temporal relation to the superordinate clause. However, the question arises how a specific semantic role is then chosen from such a subset.

Kortmann’s contribution to the problem of interpretation of participial clauses is his proposal of a scale of informativeness/specificity for individual semantic relations. On this scale, the individual relations are ordered according to the amount of world knowledge or information provided by the context that is needed to identify the semantic role of a given participial clause, see Figure 1:

most informative (strongest)	concession	
	contrast	
	condition	
	instrument	purpose
	cause	result
	time before (anteriority)	time after (posteriority)
<hr/>		
least informative (weakest)	manner	
	exemplification/specification	
	same time (simultaneity/overlap)	
	accompanying circumstances	
	addition	

Figure 1: A scale of informativeness for semantic relations (Kortmann, 1991: 121)

Less informative relations like addition or accompanying circumstances need the least amount of additional information to be identified as such. They are grouped around the temporal relation of simultaneity as it is the default (and thus unmarked) relation expressed by present participles. Exemplification and manner are located in the upper part of this group as “it requires more knowledge to identify the two propositions as to refer to the same event, rather than to different events” (Kortmann, 1991: 120).

The set of more informative relations, on the other hand, begins with the marked temporal relations of anteriority or posteriority as their interpretation requires more clues (e.g. the knowledge of the standard order of events, word-order, or lexical clues in the text). Kortmann also notes that this is “mirrored by the frequency with which free adjuncts serving as adverbial clauses of anteriority or posteriority receive conjunctive augmentation. [In Kortmann’s corpus] the percentage of adjuncts introduced by *after* or *before* is about four times as high as the one for adjuncts introduced by *while* or *when*.” (Kortmann, 1991: 121) The higher a relation stands on the scale, the more clues for its interpretation are needed, e.g. the description of the same event for instrumental interpretation or the element of volition for an adverbial of purpose. Concession is considered the most informative relation as it requires the highest amount of additional information; concessive clauses therefore often contain conjunctions or other lexical markers.

Nevertheless, it should be stressed that the boundaries between individual relations are fluid and not always clear-cut. The scale helps to demonstrate the manner in which the possible interpretations are narrowed down to a specific subset or neighbouring pairs of relations and it also accounts for variation between individual language users. One of the factors responsible for a higher degree of informativeness is world knowledge which is different for every person, and can even change for an individual at various points in time. The following sections contain brief remarks relevant to this thesis on the individual semantic roles of participial clauses based on Kortmann's observations.

2.5.1 Temporal Relations

It should be clear from the above description of the scale of semantic relations that temporal relations are of central importance as they can be the primary relation expressed by a participial clause or they can underlie other, more informative, semantic roles. It has been said in section 2.2 that the present participle expresses actions simultaneous with those of the superordinate clause while the perfect participles express anterior and completed actions. However, Kortmann's research showed that present participles can express anteriority and posteriority as well; moreover, not all participial clauses conform to the principle of iconicity according to which the order of clauses reflects their temporal order.

Thus, both the present and perfect participles can express anteriority although the present participle is marked in this role and more restricted than the latter; Kortmann observes that "[t]he expression of anteriority by means of present-participial constructions is overwhelmingly (but not exclusively) restricted to telic predicates, i.e. accomplishments and achievements, and to adjuncts preceding their matrix clause." (Kortmann, 1991: 146) Furthermore, there are no present-participial absolute clauses expressing other temporal relation beside simultaneity in Kortmann's corpus while the perfect participle is not restricted in forming absolute clauses. Apart from these differences in distribution, Kortmann also notes that "perfect-participial clauses adjuncts often receive a causal interpretation, or have, at least, a causal overtone." (ibid.: 147) This seems to be connected to their position in the sentence as the majority of initially placed perfect-participial clauses express only a temporal meaning

while in final position, they very often express causality. Kortmann therefore concludes that “[a]djuncts of this kind which do not display iconic word order are more likely to receive an interpretation stronger than just a temporal one.” (ibid.)

The above description still leaves a number of possibly overlapping instances of present- or perfect-participial clauses; nevertheless, Kortmann argues that their distribution in a text is not arbitrary but subject to the text dynamics. Since they express completed actions and “generally entail the truth of the proposition they denote,” (Kortmann, 1991: 148), the perfect participles can be used as a cohesive device, e.g. *Thus Kurtz punched it through with his will. Having done so, he flew next morning to Munich...* (ibid.) Consequently, they prefer initial position and they are typical of narrative texts where they serve to slow down the narration. This is in contrast to present participles which often express new actions and are thus more dynamic.

As far as the present participle is concerned, it can also express posteriority although this use is the most marked and restricted. It observes the principle of iconicity as all instances of present-participial clauses with posterior reading in Kortmann’s corpus were placed finally (Kortmann, 1991: 151); the interpretation of the actual temporal order may even be directly dependent on the word order as in ... *the hotelier slipped agilely to his knees, clasping his hands devoutly in front of him.* (ibid.: 152) where a change in word order would result in a different reading. It can be seen that the present participle is very versatile, being able to express all basic temporal relations, and it is probably this versatility which makes its use so frequent.

2.5.2 Conditionality

According to Kortmann’s analysis, present-participial clauses can only express indirect condition, i.e. “conditions that are dependent on an implicit speech act of the utterance, and are therefore style disjuncts.” (CGEL: 1095) This corresponds to the group of unattached participles often found in formal writing whose subject is the authorial or inclusive *we* (cf. the discussion of subject control and the acceptability of unattached participles in

section 2.4). It is this use of the present participle where the non-finite form often undergoes the shift to the group of secondary conditional conjunctions, such as *assuming*, *considering*, etc.

2.5.3 Instrumentality, Manner, Exemplification/Specification

These adverbial interpretations form one possible subset of semantic relations that all modify the same event as is denoted by the proposition in the matrix clause. Exemplification and specification are the least informative relations and the most frequent in this group for both supplementary and absolute clauses (Kortmann, 1991: 166). Such clauses express additional information to the whole proposition or only its part (a noun phrase) as in *We got stuck on bayonet practice after that, running up and down shouting, and ramming the blade through some sacks filled with straw.* (ibid.: 168) Kortmann notes that this relation may be difficult to distinguish from manner but that it prototypically co-occurs with expressions like *for example*, *namely*, *in fact* etc. (ibid.: 167)

Comparing manner and instrumentality, the latter requires more conditions to be fulfilled, which is why it ranks higher on the scale of informativeness. The first is the “same-subject constraint” (Kortmann, 1991: 165) – absolute clauses cannot express instrumentality while they can be interpreted as manner clauses. Second, “the predicate in the main clause should not denote an event which is totally determined as to the instrument or method necessary to bring this event about,” e.g. *chewing* or *swallowing* (ibid.) as this would obviously make the non-finite clause redundant. Third, sentences with an instrumental clause can be rephrased as expressing a purpose (of the use of the instrument described); this, however, does not hold for manner clauses. Both manner and instrument clauses can be affected by negation in the main clause; while manner interpretation is precluded by non-occurring events, instrumental clauses may express shift to causal meaning as Kortmann suggest, for example, for the following sentence: *Using a blunt knife, he didn't manage to cut the bread.* (ibid.: 164)

2.6 The English and Czech Manner of Expression

In all their forms, functions, and semantic roles, non-finite verb forms fulfil another important role in the English syntax – that of sentence condensers. The phenomenon of the so called complex condensation was described, among others, by Hladký as “the introduction into a sentence of a nominal element or phrase (condenser, for short) enabling the said sentence to do without a hypotactically or paratactically arranged clause the use of which would otherwise be indispensable” (Hladký, 1961: 114). This leads to a greater cohesion of a sentence which is not divided into individual finite clauses but presented as a compact unit.

According to the surveys presented by Vachek (1955, 1961) and Hladký (1961), the present participle is the non-finite form most widely used as a condenser. It is the purpose of this thesis to examine and describe the syntactic and semantic properties of the English participial clauses and their Czech translations. The contrastive approach to the different behaviour of English and Czech, however, has a long tradition within the Prague school of linguistics, as can be seen from the previous quotations, and there are numerous writings contrasting the English use of nominal expressions as opposed to the Czech preference for verbal expression. A well arranged overview of some previous works on this topic is given by Malá & Šaldová in their forthcoming article on complex condensation:

“[As soon as 1936] Vilém Mathesius devoted one chapter to the question of verbal and nominal expression in English and Czech, mentioning explicitly two aspects of the nominal tendencies in English: first, the tendency towards nominal expression in lexis (i.e. verbo-nominal expressions such as *to have a wash*, or fixed combinations of a verb and an adverb, e.g. *to come back*, typically paralleled by a verbal expression in Czech, cf. *umýti se, odejít*), and secondly, the manifestation of the same tendency in the syntax of the English sentence.” (Malá & Šaldová: 135)

This manifestation means much wider use of nominal forms, i.e. sentence condensers, in English than in Czech which relies on finite verb phrases.

These structural differences are also mirrored by the current status of the Czech counterpart of the English participle – the transgressive. Although formally and functionally (in the case of adverbials) identical with the participle, the transgressive is nowadays

considered a very marked form. Čechová et al. note that “the forms of the present transgressive are literary expressions. [...] The forms of the past transgressive are nowadays entirely obsolete; they are used rarely, namely in academic and artistic style.” (Čechová et al., 2000: 223-224)⁶

⁶ “Tvary přechodníku přítomného jsou knižní. [...] Dnes jsou tvary přechodníku minulého už zcela zastaralé, užívá se jich zřídka, a to ve stylu vědeckém a uměleckém.” (Čechová et al., 2000: 223-224)

3 MATERIAL AND METHOD

3.1 Material

The source of data for this thesis was *InterCorp*, a multilingual parallel translation corpus containing original texts and translations in Czech and a number of other languages.⁷ Instances of participial *-ing* clauses were excerpted from a subcorpus containing three works of contemporary American fiction: *The Da Vinci Code* by Dan Brown, *The Street Lawyer* by John Grisham, and *A Widow for a Year* by John Irving. Since the corpus is morphologically tagged, we were able to use the following query which looks for all verb forms ending in *-ing*, excluding those preceded by any form of the verb *be*, a determiner, or the particle or preposition *to* in order to eliminate (at least some) instances of progressive forms and gerunds:

```
[lemma!="be" & tag!="DT" & tag!="TO"] [tag="V.G"]
```

This query returned 6,571 hits in total: 2,621; 1,434; and 2,516 from the individual books in their respective order. The results were displayed in a random order and further sorted manually. First of all, instances of other word-classes, i.e. gerunds and participial adjectives, were eliminated on the basis of the criteria described in sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2. Second, the focus of this thesis are adverbial and post-modifying participial clauses; therefore, other syntactic functions of the participle needed to be identified and excluded from the sample – these were progressive forms, pre-modifying participles and object complements. Several instances of participial prepositions of the type *concerning* were also encountered and discarded. In the course of this analysis, the first 70 suitable hits were taken from each the books that form our sample of 210 participial clauses.

⁷ A detailed description of the corpus and the access to the search engine is available online, see <http://www.korpus.cz/intercorp/>.

3.2 Method

Each of the clauses in the sample was classified both in terms of its syntactic and semantic role and of the nature of its Czech translation. The main criterion for the classification of the original participial clauses is their syntactic function as adverbial or modifying; adverbial clauses are further subdivided into supplementive and absolute noting also the presence or absence of a subordinator. The syntactic ambiguities of participial clauses, especially in the position immediately following a noun phrase, were already described in section 2.3. Such ambiguous cases where the distinction between an adverbial and modifying interpretation is not straightforward can be found in our sample as well, both among supplementive and absolute clauses, and the process of our analysis will be demonstrated on specific examples below.

3.2.1 Supplementive Clause vs. Postmodifier

In [1] and [2] the analyses as a supplementive or a postmodifying clause both seem equally possible. However, if we consider the clause in [1] as adverbial, it becomes more complicated to specify its semantic role. Using Kortmann's terminology, the clause is not very informative and it would not rank higher than the relation of exemplification/specification. Moreover, one of the features of supplementive clauses is their position in the sentence which can be initial or final, besides the medial position following the antecedent. If the clause in [1] was moved to the initial position, its meaning would change and it would express causality. Due to these reasons – the fixed position and the low degree of informativeness, this clause was classified as a non-restrictive postmodifier. It should be stressed, however, that [1] exemplifies the borderline case where the distinction between the syntactic functions almost loses relevance, at least from the point of view of semantics.

- [1] *Considered the most anatomically correct drawing of its day, Da Vinci's THE VITRUVIAN MAN had become a modern-day icon of culture, appearing on posters, mouse pads, and T-shirts around the world. (B07)*

The participial clause in [2] is different in that the syntactic analysis influences the meaning of the sentence as well. Thus, interpreted as an adverbial, the meaning of the clause

can be specified as instrumental and it would mean “with the help of attorneys from the big firms”; the adverbial clause would modify the verb *implement* and its underlying subject would be identical with the subject of the superordinate clause, i.e. *I*. As a postmodifier, however, the clause would be dependent on the noun *program* and its meaning would be “which would use attorneys from the big firms”. This difference demonstrates the great importance of analysing participial clauses in a larger context than just the sentence containing them. Although our sample is based mostly on isolated sentences, the advantage of working with an electronic parallel corpus is the possibility of easily finding and displaying the cotext of any concordance line which was necessary for the correct analysis of [2]. Only the further development of the text (given in brackets) showed the latter of the analyses, i.e. that of a postmodifying clause, to be valid.

- [2] *Because I couldn't practice law for the next nine months, the clinic had decided that I should implement a new pro bono volunteer program using attorneys from the big firms in town. (Since his firm happened to be the largest, I was thinking of starting there. The volunteers would work only a few hours a week, under my supervision, and we could reach thousands of homeless people.)*
(G49)

3.2.2 Absolute Clause vs. Postmodifier

Absolute participial clauses may pose the same problem as described above: they can be formally identical with participial postmodifiers as well. Moreover, both the subject of the absolute and the antecedent of the postmodifying clause can be preceded by *with(out)*. The analysis of a clause as either of the two possibilities is dependent on the interpretation of the preceding nominal element which can be the subject of an absolute construction or the modified element (and the implied subject of a modifying clause). The nature of the linking *with(out)* is also dependent on which analysis is chosen; *with(out)* is primarily a preposition so it can be the head of a prepositional phrase whose complement is further postmodified by a participial clause. However, it can also function as a subordinator introducing an absolute clause in which case it can introduce more informative meanings than postmodification.

Examples of such ambiguous clauses are, among others, [3] and [4]. Sentence [3] contains a list of individual scenes which follow a colon. Therefore, the phrases *Marion's hair*

and *Marion's arm* are perceived as parallel to *the open window* which is a noun phrase containing both pre- and postmodification. On the basis of this parallel, *Marion's arm* can be analysed as one of the co-ordinated noun phrases and the participial clause as a postmodifier.

- [3] *Eddie couldn't believe the abruptness of it: the open window of the Mercedes, Marion's hair blowing in the wind, Marion's arm waving out the window*. (I44)

The analysis is less straightforward in [4]: one possibility is that *with* introduces a prepositional phrase postmodifying the noun *house*, the complement of the preposition *something* being further postmodified by the *-ing* clause (*crawling between the walls*); this would result in a very complex clause sentence. An alternative analysis classifies *with* as a subordinator introducing an absolute clause whose subject is *something*. We perceive this latter interpretation as more probable – since the presence of “something crawling between the walls” can be more readily perceived as a circumstance of her lying awake rather than a quality of the house – and the participial construction was analysed as adverbial, more specifically as expressing accompanying circumstances.

- [4] *And so Ruth lay awake in the house with something crawling between the walls, something bigger than a mouse, and she listened to the only sound that would ever succeed in comforting her - at the same time that it made her melancholic*. (I66)

3.2.3 Classification of Translation Counterparts

The second step in the description of our sample following the syntactic and semantic analysis of the English participial clauses is the analysis and classification of their Czech translation counterparts. This comprises their syntactic description and the subsequent identification of recurring patterns; the latter step was done using the method from Johansson's *Seeing through Multilingual Corpora: On the use of corpora in contrastive studies*. The basic concept when working with a parallel translation corpus is a translation paradigm, i.e. “the set of forms in the target text which are found to correspond to particular words or constructions in the source text. [...] The forms which are observed to correlate in this way are termed *correspondences*.” (Johansson, 2007: 23) However, it is necessary to see these correspondences as a gradient scale as they are rarely absolutely identical on the level of

both form and meaning. Therefore, Johansson gives a classification of correspondences: first, there are either overt or zero correspondences, the latter meaning there is no explicit formal counterpart of the element(s) in question, be it in the target text (omission) or the source text (addition). Second, overt correspondences can be congruent or divergent, depending on whether the forms in the source and the target texts are of the same category (congruent) or not (divergent). However, the existence of formal counterparts across languages does not imply a high frequency of congruent translations. The same forms may cover different uses or carry different stylistic or connotative traits, as has been already suggested for English participles and Czech transgressives which differ conspicuously in these terms.

4 RESEARCH PART

The following chapters will describe in detail the individual correspondences between the English participial clauses and their Czech translation counterparts. Since the focus is on the Czech rendering of the clauses in question, the grouping of the analysed sentences is based on the type of correspondence, i.e. whether it is congruent or divergent. Table 3 gives an overview of the nature of our sample; it can be seen that the vast majority is translated by a coordinated finite clause – 56% of the whole sample. This number becomes especially prominent when compared with the second most frequent translation – a subordinate finite clause – which represents just under 16% of cases. As expected, congruent translations are rather infrequent, comprising about 7% of translations; moreover, there is only one case of a transgressive which is the Czech counterpart of an adverbial participle clause. Some of the groups can be further subdivided, which will be done in the respective chapters.

CZECH COUNTERPART			ENGLISH PARTICIPIAL CLAUSE			Total	%
			Absolute	Adverbial	Postmodifying		
Congruent	Transgressive		-	1	-	1	0.5
	Participial adjective		-	3	13	16	7.6
Divergent	Finite clause	Coordinated	7	109	2	118	56.2
		Subordinate	3	21	9	33	15.7
		Other	3	14	1	18	8.6
	Verbless construction		1	17	1	19	9
Zero	Omission		-	4	1	5	2.4
Total			14	169	27	210	
%			6.7	80.5	12.8		100

Table 3: The translation paradigm of English participial *-ing* clauses

4.1 Congruent Correspondences

4.1.1 Postmodifying Clauses

Postmodifying participial clauses expressed in general the highest degree of congruent counterparts. We consider as congruent translations by Czech de-verbal adjectives, which are

typically derived from the present transgressive. Such adjectives transform a temporary attribute into a permanent one and they are derived from the present transgressive by the ending *-cí* (e.g. *nesoucí, plačící*) and from the past transgressive by *-ší* (e.g. *přišedší, udělavší*) (Čechová et al., 2000: 125). In total, 12 postmodifying participles in our sample are translated by an active adjective derived from the present transgressive. Such translation could be seen in sentences [1] and [3] in the previous section; other examples are [5] and [6]. In the latter two, the adjectival ending demonstrates the grammatical concord between the adjective and its governing noun as the ending reflects its gender and case:

- [5] *The next morning, in the carriage-house apartment, Eddie had only begun his arrangement of the pink cashmere cardigan on the bed - together with a lilac-colored silk camisole and matching panties - when he heard Marion's exaggerated clomping on the stairs leading up from the garage.*

Příštího rána si Eddie právě začal aranžovat na postel růžový kašmírový svetr - spolu s hedvábným kombiné fialové barvy a ladícími kalhotkami, když na schodech vedoucích z garáže uslyšel Marionino přehnané dupání. (I09)

- [6] *He helped me up the stairs at my first prospect, a run-down flat with the unmistakable smell of cat urine emanating from the carpet.*

Když jsme šli na první prohlídku, pomáhal mi do schodů. Byl to rozpadající se byt s nezaměnitelným pachem kočičí moči linoucím se z koberce. (G35)

One participial clause is translated by an active adjective derived from the Czech past active participle.⁸ This type of adjective formation is parallel to that described above. However, since the active participle is used to form the past tense in Czech, the adjectives thus derived carry the connotation of some past action or state. Thus, while the English participle in [7], *dangling*, describes the current situation, its Czech translation, *vypadlé*, refers to the cause of this situation. It can also be noted that the translation is not literal but a different verb was chosen in Czech, corresponding to the English *fall out*.

⁸ Čechová et al. call this form simply the active participle as it is used to form active verb forms including the present conditional. They point out, however, that it has been called also the past participle or past active participle: “Dosud se vč [sic] školských mluvnicích označovalo jako **příčestí minulé**, dříve minulé činné. Vzhledem k jeho funkci (tvoří činné tvary, a to i podmínovací způsob přítomný) je nazýváme příčestí činné.” (Čechová et al., 2000: 223) We have given the full term in order to emphasise its main properties in comparison with the English participle, i.e. the active voice and the connotation of past tenses.

- [7] *The left headlight was gone, and the right one looked like an eyeball dangling from its socket.*

Levý reflektor byl úplně ураžený a pravý vypadal jako oko vypadlé z důlku.
(B38)

4.1.2 Adverbial Clauses

There is only one case of a congruent translation of a supplementary clause by a transgressive, which confirms our expectation of transgressives being used very rarely in Czech. The participle in [8] is translated by the present form of a transgressive; the only difference between the two forms is in the grammatical categories they express. Unlike the English participle, the Czech transgressive is clearly marked by its ending *-aje* as a masculine form of the singular, which makes the identification of its subject more straightforward in case of more possible controllers.

- [8] *'No, you look,' Eddie said, still not understanding that he was finding his voice.*
"Ne, vy se podívejte," odsekl, stále nechápace, že hledá svůj hlas. (I32)

However, three adverbial participial clauses were translated by means of participial adjectives, e.g. [9]. As this kind of translation is the congruent translation of postmodifying participles, these instances point out to the identical realizations of the two syntactic functions. Unlike translations of postmodifiers which contain both restrictive and non-restrictive adjectival phrases, the translations in this group are all non-restrictive. As the adjectives in question are derived from the present transgressive and they describe an action, they are very close to translations by transgressives or by non-restrictive relative clauses.

- [9] *'Three needles,' Ruth reminded him, counting the stitches.*
"Tři jehly," připomněla mu Rút počítající stehy. (I61)

4.2 Divergent Correspondences

Divergent correspondences comprise either translations by finite clauses or, in contrast, by verbless constructions. The great majority of the participial clauses in our sample are translated by finite clauses – they form 80% of all the collected examples. This number clearly points out the crucial difference between the two language systems and the English

preference for nominal expressions against finite clauses in Czech as briefly described in section 2.6. Although more natural to the Czech manner of expression, this type of translation changes the original form in a considerable way as the participle is replaced by a finite form which is in itself more explicit as it expresses all the verbal grammatical categories. Moreover, most of the Czech finite clauses are linked to the other clauses in the sentence by a conjunction which, especially with subordinated clauses, greatly decreases the semantic inexplicitness of the original participial clause, or, to use Kortmann's terminology, the presence of a conjunction narrows down the subset of available interpretations.

4.2.1 Coordinated Finite Clause

As could be seen in Table 3, translation by a coordinated finite clause is by far the most frequent rendering of English participial clauses into Czech; more than a half of our sample – 118 clauses – was translated in this manner. Besides the formal changes described above, the use of a coordinated independent clause leads to another divergence between the original and its translation as the clause becomes independent despite being originally subordinate. This may affect the functional sentence perspective as non-finite clauses are usually perceived as backgrounded and of lesser prominence in a sentence. In fact, Kortmann considers this property to be “the only all-important difference between paratactic declarative clauses and free adjuncts/absolutes.” (Kortmann, 1991: 113) He then goes on to elaborate:

Unless special lexical means (e.g. connective adverbs) are employed, propositions encoded via parataxis are of equal informational rank; in other words, none of the propositions can be marked (!) for presenting background information. It is at least this piece of information, i.e. the presentation of one proposition as backgrounded, which always gets lost in paraphrases of free adjuncts/absolutes by means of coordinate clauses. (ibid.)

The equal semantic load of the individual coordinated clauses is emphasized by the fact that in most cases the clauses are linked by the basic coordinative conjunction *a* and thus stand (formally) in the copulative relation. Out of the 118 instances of this type of translation, 76 are connected by *a* and other 32 clauses form part of a series of three or more coordinated clauses which are linked asyndetically but for the last pair of clauses, which is the unmarked

manner of presenting coordinated structures. There is only one case of asyndetic connection; the other clauses contain different conjunctions, some of them expressing other than additive relations, e.g. adversative.

Although the conjunction *a* (and the coordinative relation in general) seems to be available for a wide range of meanings, its presence still limits the possible interpretations and thus makes the translated sentence somewhat more explicit. Its basic meaning is that of addition (the least informative meaning on Kortmann's scale given above in Figure 1) but it is used to translate a much wider range of adverbial meanings including those more informative than addition or accompanying circumstances [10]. The most frequent among these are the temporal relations of posteriority [11] and simultaneity [12], but also result [13], reason [14], instrument [15], or contrast [16] are attested.

- [10] *Thus Ruth Cole sat on the plane from Amsterdam to New York, composing opening sentences in spite of herself.*

Rút Coleová tudíž seděla v letadle z Amsterdamu do New Yorku a proti své vůli dále sestavovala úvodní věty. (I12)

- [11] *Langdon took it and switched it on, shining the beam on the back of the key.*

Langdon si ji vzal, rozsvítil a namířil na zadní stranu klíče. (B22)

- [12] *"Here's the million-dollar question," Teabing said, still chuckling.*

"A teď se dostáváme k otázce za milion dolarů," pokračoval Teabing a pořád se pochechtával. (B15)

- [13] *Harry saw a sign that said the automatic door was out of order, but the door opened nonetheless, admitting him into the New World, where Ruth was waiting for him.*

Harry zahlédl cedulku, že automatické dveře jsou mimo provoz, ale přesto se otevřely a vpustily ho do Nového světa, kde na něho čekala Rút. (I63)

- [14] *Sensing Rémy's presence, the monk in the back emerged from a prayer-like trance, his red eyes looking more curious than fearful.*

Mnich ucítil Remyho přítomnost, probral se z modliteb a podíval se na něj. Jeho pohled byl spíš zvědavý než vystrašený. (B25)

- [15] *"Up against the wall," he said, using the gun as a very effective prop.*

"Ke zdi," přikázal chlapík a použil zbraň jako velice účinný argument. (G10)

[16] *When she wrote about abortion, not having had an abortion, she got angry letters from people who had had abortions; ...*

Když psala o potratu a sama potrat neměla, dostávala rozhněvané dopisy od žen, které potrat měly. (I02)

The semantic relations identified among the translations by an *a*-clause correspond to the description of the varied semantics of *and* by Quirk et al. As they point out, “[*a*]nd is the coordinator which has the most general meaning and use [and] the pragmatic implications of the combination vary, according to our presuppositions and knowledge of the world; [...] they vary in strength, and more than one can coexist in the same occurrence of *and*.” (*CGEL*: 930) This descriptions suggests similarities between the versatility of *and* – and analogically the Czech *a* – and supplementive clauses. The pragmatic implications, or connotations as they are also called, listed in *CGEL* are: result, posteriority, contrast, concession, condition, similarity, addition, and explanation (ibid.: 930-932), most which were indeed attested in our sample (see Table 4 below – the meaning of accompanying circumstance is very close to addition, explanation is subsumed under specification).

This wide range of adverbial meanings that are translated by a coordinated clause connected by *a* suggests the same semantic indeterminacy as that specific to supplementive clauses. It seems that despite the original subordination of the participial clause, the emphasis in the translation is on its semantics; therefore, instead of using more specific dependent clauses, the interpretative possibilities are left open to each language user as is the case in English. However, what makes coordinated clauses very different from supplementive ones is their already mentioned equal status with the originally superordinate clause and their relatively fixed position in the sentence. Quirk et al. conclude that “[o]f the eight types of connotation, in only three – [contrast, similarity, and addition] – can the sequence of clauses perhaps be reversed without changing the relationship between the clauses. Even in these cases, the sequence is rarely random.” (ibid.: 930) Consequently, what often cannot be transferred to Czech is the possibility to move the participial clause within the sentence and its nature as backgrounded (marked by subordination) is either lost or compensated for by other means.

The distribution of semantic roles seems to correspond to the position of the participial clause within the sentence, for the representation of this correlation see Table 4. This confirms Kortmann's observation that the more informative temporal meanings of anteriority and posteriority follow the principle of iconicity (i.e. reflect the actual order of events). Since these meanings underlie others in the upper half of the scale, relations of reason and result, for example, also precede or follow the superordinate clause respectively.

SEMANTIC ROLE OF THE ENGLISH PARTICIPIAL CLAUSE		POSITION OF THE PARTICIPIAL CLAUSE			Total	%
		Initial	Medial	Final		
more informative	Contrast	-	-	3	3	2.6
	Instrument	4	-	1	5	4.3
	Cause/reason	8	-	2	10	8.6
	Anteriority	8	-	-	8	6.9
	Result	-	-	8	8	6.9
	Posteriority	-	-	24	24	20.7
less informative	Manner	-	-	1	1	0.9
	Specification	-	-	8	8	6.9
	Simultaneity	1	-	15	16	13.8
	Accompanying circumstances	1	1	31	33	28.4
Total		22	1	93	116	
%		19	0.9	80.1		100

Table 4: Distribution of adverbial participial clauses translated by a coordinated clause⁹

There are exceptions among the instrumental and reason clauses but these only seem to make use of the less fixed position of adverbial clauses in case their meaning is obvious. e.g. sentence [15] cited above or the reason clause in [17].

⁹ Table 4 comprises all adverbial clauses, including absolute constructions, which were translated by means of a coordinated clause. The position of coordinated participial clauses is judged on the basis of the position of the whole series with respect to the subject controller. Therefore, there is only one clause in medial position which is generally rare (cf. Kortmann, 1991: 9)

[17] *With her eyes closed, rinsing off the shampoo, she guessed that he had to be looking at her breasts.*

Smývala si šampon a i se zavřenýma očima poznala, že se jí dívá na prsa. (I54)

Where the basic meaning is temporal, as in [11] and [12] above, or [18] expressing anteriority, the translation is straightforward and the coordinated clauses express a temporal sequence, i.e. an iconic representation of an actual order of actions. The difference between simultaneous and posterior actions is usually marked in Czech by the aspect of the verb which is expressed by means of a grammatical ending. Thus, the Czech translation is more specific even without the presence of a linking element and makes the identification of the semantic role easier for the reader. For the difference between simultaneity (imperfective) and posteriority (perfective), compare, for example, [19] and [20].

[18] *COULD THAT BE IT? Grabbing the left side of the carved wood frame, she pulled it toward her.*

Mohlo by to být ono? Popadla levou stranu rámu a přitáhla ji k sobě. (B33)

[19] *Sophie was stopped on the stairs below him, staring up in confusion.*

Kód? Sophie na schodišti pod ním znehybněla a překvapeně na něj zírala. (B19)

[20] *"Banks?" Sophie asked, glancing at Leigh.*

"Bankami?" podivila se Sophie a podívala se na Leigha. (B17)

Some translations, however, contain other specifications than just the aspect of the verb; the participles in [21] are translated by perfective aspect but the recurring character of the action expressed by them is emphasised by the adverb *pokaždé* and the forms of the pronoun *každý*. The parallelism of the original clauses is also achieved by their asyndetic connection which is not reflected in the translation (the last element is connected regularly by a conjunction) but recreated by the lexical hints. The specification in [22] is purely lexical as the meaning of the participle *peering* is split into two coordinated verbs and the situation is described in more detail.

- [21] *Nuzzo had identical responses, and Mister moved down the line, pointing, asking the same questions, getting the same answers.*

Nuzzo pro něj měl stejné odpovědi, a tak šel Pán dál od jednoho k druhému, pokaždé namířil pušku, každému položil stejnou trojici otázek a od každého se mu dostalo stejných odpovědí. (G26)

- [22] *The man tilted his head, peering down the barrel of his gun.*

Muž nachýlil hlavu trochu ke straně, přimhouřil jedno oko a druhým se přes mušku své zbraně díval na správce. (B14)

The importance of the clausal order becomes especially prominent with clauses expressing originally simultaneous actions. It has been observed that the nuances in temporal meaning can be supplemented by the verbal aspect and lexical hints in Czech. Such hints can be found in English as well and [23], for example, contains the adverb *still* specifying the simultaneity of the action denoted by the participial clause. This is expressed by the aspectual verb *zůstal* so the temporal meaning is retained. Nevertheless, as it is translated as perfective, a change in the order of clauses would result in a change of the order of actions (i.e. *Prohodil ke Scottovi ... a zůstal stát u bazénu.*) which is not the case in English. Sentence [24] exemplifies a case where such a change took place; the participle *wrestling*, clearly simultaneous with its superordinate verb, is moved to the initial position in the translation. The order of actions is thus made explicit in Czech – *wrestling* precedes *walked* despite the original meaning – and it is directly dependent on the order of clauses. What is retained, however, is the smaller degree of communicative dynamism carried by the clause in question caused by its thematic position; the final position of *šel dál* gives it the prominence it has as the main clause of the original sentence. Nevertheless, as such re-ordering of clauses is rare in our sample, no general conclusions can be drawn here.

- [23] *Her father, still standing naked on the deck, had remarked to Scott: ...*

Otec zůstal stát nahý u bazénu a prohodil ke Scottovi: ... (I37)

- [24] *I walked away, wrestling my overcoat off my shoulders, forgetting the man with the rubber boots.*

Stáhl jsem si plášť z ramen a šel dál. Muže v holínách jsem dokonale pustil z hlavy. (G03)

Besides influencing the interpretation of temporal relations, translation by means of coordinate clauses and their order in a sentence can also affect the more informative meanings implied by the participial clauses. Thus, the reason clauses mentioned above, [14] and [17], can easily be interpreted only as indicating temporal relations; and the instrument in [25] is highly dependent on the clausal order. The order of clauses in Czech – as they are not subordinate – is considerably more decisive than in English (as has been demonstrate in [23]); while the participial clause can be moved, e.g. *Harry wrote a note, using one of the pens...*, and still be interpreted as instrumental, such a change would result in a different order of events in Czech and consequently in a change of meaning, specifically in the loss of the element of instrumentality.

[25] *Using one of the pens, Harry wrote a note, which he put in the middle drawer before closing it.*

Použil jednu z propisovaček, napsal vzkaz a než prostřední zásuvku zavřel, vzkaz do ní vložil. (I49)

The other clauses linked syndetically comprise three uses of *a přitom*, one *a také*, and clauses not standing in the copulative relation – two clauses which are introduced by *ale* and express the adversative relation, and three result clauses linked by *a tak*. The first two may be in some contexts identical with *a* but they are undoubtedly more specific and focus only on some of its meanings. Karlík et al. also note that “the basic coordinative relation is usually enriched by other semantic and pragmatic moments. [...] They can be expressed explicitly by various connecting devices: (a) simultaneity of two propositions is expressed by the connective *(a) přitom*.” (Karlík et al., 1995: 558)¹⁰ This fact seems to mirror the higher degree of informativeness of the adverbials translated in this manner. Three clauses combine the adverbial meaning of simultaneity with some other, more informative one, for example manner in [26] or contrast in [27]; the level of informativeness can be also increased by the presence of the conjunction in English as in [27] and [28]. Thus, the use of the more specific

¹⁰ “Základní slučovací vztah je zpravidla obohacen o různé další sémantické a pragmatické momenty. [...] Explicitně je vyjadřují různé spojovací prostředky: (a) Simultánnost (současnost) platnosti obsahů výpovědí se vyjadřuje spojovacím prostředkem *(a) přitom*.” (Karlík et al., 1995: 558)

conjunctions *a přitom* and *a také* may be due to two reasons: the translator's emphasis on one of more possible meanings (e.g. on simultaneity in [26]), or a literal translation of an already present conjunction. The latter seems to be supported by the fact that none of the numerous clauses linked by *a* contains a conjunction in the original text.¹¹

[26] *I went about this methodically scanning the parking lot below as if being seen might somehow save me.*

Vykonal jsem jeho příkaz hezky pomalu a svědomitě a přitom jsem si zkoumavě prohlížel parkoviště dole pod námi, jako bych tam mohl zahlédnout někoho, kdo mě zachrání. (G14)

[27] *He wanted them bound tightly, and I made a show of practically drawing blood while leaving as much slack as possible.*

Chtěl, abych provaz utáhl co nejpevněji, a tak jsem předváděl, jak se nylon zařezává téměř až do krve, a přitom jsem se snažil, aby byla pouta co nejvolnější. (G13)

[28] *Designed by Da Vinci in 1495 as an outgrowth of his earliest anatomy and kinesiology studies, the internal mechanism of the robot knight possessed accurate joints and tendons, and was designed to sit up, wave its arms, and move its head via a flexible neck while opening and closing an anatomically correct jaw.*

Da Vinci jej v roce 1495 navrhl v důsledku svých studií anatomie a kineziologie - vnitřní mechanismus tohoto rytíře obsahoval správně umístěné klouby a šlachy, takže se uměl posadit, zamávat pažemi, pohybovat hlavou a také otvírat a zavírat anatomicky přesně vytvarovanou čelist. (B47)

The two adversative clauses are both introduced by *ale* but only one of them is a literal translation of the English *but* – [29] where the adversative relation holds between two subordinate clauses. The other clause [30] is another example of the translator's emphasis on one of more possible meanings of the original clauses. The English *while* can express either simultaneity or concession (or imply both at the same time as is the case here). Although it has a Czech counterpart which has developed the same secondary meaning, *zatímco*, the conjunction used here is *ale* which can only express adversative relation or, in other words, contrast.

¹¹ There are six participial clauses introduced by a conjunction in English, in all cases *while*; three of them are translated by a coordinative clause containing a conjunction more specific than *a*; one by a subordinated clause and the last two as verbless constructions.

[29] *I raced to the sidewalk, sliding in the snow but staying on my feet, then down P Street to Wisconsin, over to Thirty-fourth to a newsstand.*

Vyrazil jsem na chodník, podjely mi nohy, ale vyrovnal jsem to, řítíl jsem se po P Street k Wisconsinské a na Třicátou čtvrtou ulici k trafice. (G54)

[30] *It was immediately obvious that we rich folks had made lots of money while handing over precious little of it.*

Na první pohled bylo totiž jasné, že jsme banda pěkně zazobaných chlápků, kteří vydělávají spoustu peněz, ale moc jich z ruky nepustí. (G23)

There are three instances of a slightly different type of inter-clausal relation where the clauses are not completely equal but where one determines the other in the relation of reason and its consequence. While Čechová et al. (2000: 348-349) consider this type of compound sentence as equal to coordination, Karlík et al. (2008: 559) see it as one of its subtypes, which is why it is dealt with here as well. All three, for example [31], are originally reason clauses containing the participial form *knowing/not knowing* and they are all translated as a member of a compound sentence expressing consequence. The participial clause always becomes the clause expressing reason which is followed by a result clause linked by the conjunction *a tak*.

[31] *Not knowing if the woman saw him standing in the darkness of his porch - and being, therefore, as careful as he could be not to startle her - Eddie said: ...*

Nebyl si jistý, zda ho žena ve tmě verandy viděla, a tak se opatrně, aby ji nevylekal, nabídl: ... (I45)

Besides the adverbial clauses just cited, a coordinated clause linked by *a* was also used to translate two of the three postmodifying clauses translated by an independent clause [32], and [33]. This type of translation is rare for postmodifying clauses and is always subject to structural changes in the target text. Here, *bordering* modifies the subject complement of the English clause which is, however, translated as an adjective and cannot be modified by another adjective. Thus, the participle becomes a finite verb form whose subject is not *an act of in-decency* as in the original but the subject of the main clause, the infinitival clause *to read that book aloud to any child/číst ji nějakému dítěti nahlas*.

[32] *Dot O'Hare herself had said that it would be an act of in-decency bordering on child abuse to read that book aloud to any child.*

Dot O'Hareová o knize prohlásila, že číst ji nějakému dítěti nahlas je nemravné a hraničí to s poškozováním. (I62)

[33] *Those little bodies lying up there in boxes had never known so much love.*

Vždyť ta drobounká tělíčka tam leží v bednách a nikdy se už nedozví, že je všichni měli tolik rádi. (G29)

4.2.2 Subordinate Finite Clause

With 33 occurrences – almost 16% of the sample – a translation of a participial clause by a Czech subordinate clause is the second most frequent type of correspondence. Such translation retains one important feature of participial clauses, i.e. their subordination and dependency on some element in the superordinate clause. However, the translated text is almost always bound to be more specific due to the finite form of the predicate and the fact that subordinate clauses are introduced by a conjunction which signals subordination but also the semantic role of the clause. Thus, a translation by a subordinate clause leads to a semantic specification and finite subordinate clauses cannot be considered as fully equivalent to non-finite ones either across languages or in English alone. Before proposing his views on the semantic indeterminacy of free adjuncts and suggesting the scale of informativeness, Kortmann reviews other theories viewing these structures as parallel to finite clauses and even derived from them. He disregards such approaches as implausible as they fail to account for the semantics of free adjuncts which can express several meanings at the same time or can be interpreted in a different manner by individual language users or even a single language user in the course of time. Therefore, he concludes that:

“it appear[s] more profitable to treat free adjuncts and absolutes as both syntactically and semantically autonomous constructions. Besides, this assumption gains in plausibility when taking into account facts from language history, i.e. that the use of these two construction types was established in the Indo-European language family long before the development of conjunctions, and thus syndetic clause-linkage.” (Kortmann, 1991: 113)

The classification of subordinate clauses in Czech is based primarily on the syntactic function they fulfil in a sentence, i.e. subject clauses, object clauses, adverbial clauses etc. Furthermore, they can be subdivided according to their realization form; Čechová et al. list three structural types of subordinate dependent clauses in Czech according to the device used for their linking to the main clause: conjunctive clauses (connected by a conjunction), relative clauses (connected by a relative pronoun or adverb), and correlative clauses. The last type can be considered a subtype of either of the first two; in correlative clauses the connective device is split into a referring element in the main clause and a connective element in the subordinate clause, e.g. the demonstrative and relative pronouns in *Pan Artur obratem vrátil to, co mu nepatřilo* (Čechová et al., 2000: 308). All of these types were encountered in the course of our analysis. Moreover, a subordinate clause is not always marked as dependent but can be juxtaposed to the main clause without any overt linking. Such clauses can fulfil the function of obligatory clause elements, e.g. the object in *Věděl dobře, nikdo mu nepomůže.* (ibid.: 307) or optional ones, like an adverbial: *Odešel domů, bolela ho hlava.* (ibid.: 309) and they can often be paraphrased by dependent clauses, e.g. *Věděl dobře, že mu nikdo nepomůže.* or *Odešel domů, protože ho bolela hlava.*

There was one instance of an independent subordinate clause in our sample [34]; although formally coordinated, the clause can be analysed as subordinate as it can be paraphrased by a dependent subordinate clause linked by *protože*. Containing a series of asyndetically linked clauses, the first reading is that of a temporal sequence; however, this would sound rather clumsy as the first clause describes a state rather than an action. The logical interpretation of the semantic relation between the clauses then seems to be cause or reason which corresponds to the original where the perfect participle clearly expresses anteriority and reason connected with it.

[34] *She was enjoying herself immensely, having taken a long shower, eaten a pound of candy, and watched Tlx nonstop.*

Měla se nadmíru dobře, pořádně se vysprchovala, snědla kopu cukroví a vytrvale se dívala na televizi. (G30)

4.2.2.1 Adverbial Clauses

Apart from the single case above, all subordinate clauses in this group of counterparts are dependent clauses and there is usually a correlation between adverbial clauses translating adverbials and relative clauses postmodifiers. As far as the adverbial uses of the participle are concerned, a wide range of meanings is represented in this group and in most cases, the meaning is retained in the translation despite a different syntactic structure. Table 5 summarizes the correlation between the participial adverbial clauses (including both supplementary and absolute clauses) according to their semantic role and their Czech counterparts according to their syntactic type:

SEMANTIC ROLE OF THE ENGLISH PARTICIPIAL CLAUSE		CZECH CLAUSE TYPE				Total	%
		Dependent adverbial	Relative restrictive	Relative non-restrictive	Other		
more informative	Condition	1	-	-	-	1	4.2
	Instrument	1	-	-	-	1	4.2
	Cause/reason	3	-	1	1	5	20.8
	Result	1	-	-	-	1	4.2
	Anteriority	2	-	-	-	2	8.3
	Posteriority	-	-	1	-	1	4.2
less informative	Specification	-	2	-	1	3	12.5
	Simultaneity	4	-	2	-	6	25
	Accompanying circumstances	1	1	1	1	4	16.6
Total		13	3	5	3	24	
%		54.2	12.5	20.8	12.5		100

Table 5: Translations of adverbial participial clauses by a subordinate clause

Above all more informative meanings express a higher degree of correspondence between the most informative reading available and the translation by a corresponding adverbial clause, e.g. reason signalled by the conjunction *jelikož* in [35], condition (*kdyby*) in [36], result (*takže*) in [37], or instrument (*tím, že*) in [38].

- [35] *Not knowing that Allan had instructed Eddie to read a Yeats poem at Allan's own memorial service, Harry chose a Yeats poem for his and Ruth's wedding.*

Jelikož nevěděl, že Allan požádal Eddieho, aby na jeho pohřbu přečetl báseň od Yeatse, vybral pro svou a Rútinu svatbu báseň od stejného autora. (I17)

- [36] *Langdon wondered again if he might have been better off taking his chances letting Fache arrest him at the Louvre.*

Langdon znovu zapřemítal o tom, jestli by na tom nebyl lépe, kdyby se nechal hned v Louvru zatknout. (B44)

- [37] *He'd settled it for one hundred thousand dollars, netting the clinic a grand total of ten thousand dollars, from which he purchased new phones and word processors.*

Mordecai požadoval odškodné sto tisíc dolarů, takže vydělal poradně rovných deset tisíc, za něž nakoupil nové telefony a počítače. (G67)

- [38] *Jacqueline Hume had first made a ton of money cleaning out wayward doctors, then had created a fierce reputation by destroying a couple of philandering senators.*

Jacqueline Humeová nejdřív vydělala řadu peněz tím, že oškubala nějaké přelétavé doktory, a pak si vybudovala pověst řízné právničky tím, že zničila párek flirtujících senátorů. (G66)

Compared with translations by a coordinated *a*-clause, which mostly revolve around temporal meanings, translations by a subordinate clause have a much more significant specifying effect on the adverbial clauses as the subordinative conjunctions tend to be less ambiguous. The examples just given can be considered rather unproblematic as to their interpretation although various readers might incline to different readings. The presence of a conjunction in the translation, however, makes the meaning explicit and unambiguous. This is especially conspicuous in clauses which combine more possible meanings and whose interpretation is dependent on the context. [39], for example, can express simultaneity, reason/cause, or concession. By using the conjunction *protože*, the translator decided for the causal interpretation while discarding the other two.

- [39] *You got a wealthy lawyer from a wealthy firm deliberately allowing a wrongful eviction to occur, and as a direct result my clients got tossed into the streets where they died trying to stay warm.*

Šlo o bohatého právníka z bohaté firmy, který záměrně dovolil, aby proběhlo protiprávní vystěhování. Následkem jeho přístupu se moji klienti ocitli na ulici, kde zemřeli, protože se snažili zahřát. (G70)

A similar example is [40] where the participle is ambiguous between the meaning of accompanying circumstances and the more informative reason. In this case, the clause was not translated as adverbial but as a non-restrictive relative clause. This, however, does not lead to the specification of the semantic role but to the retaining of its ambiguity. Although formally dependent on the subject of the main clause, *Sophie*, the relative clause does not determine it in any way but contains an individual proposition. As Karlík et al. point out “non-restrictive modifiers, especially when realized by a clause, express additional information about the noun’s referent. As they are irrelevant to the denomination of whatever the speaker wishes to communicate, *diverse* semantic relations may arise between the content of the relative clause and the superordinate clause, e.g. (a) causal...” (Karlík et al., 1995: 497-498).¹²

[40] "Leigh?" *Sophie repeated, clearly not appreciating being left out of the discussion.*

"Leighu?" *zopakovala Sophie, které se vůbec nelíbilo, že ji vynechávají z diskuse. (B69)*

Clauses expressing accompanying circumstances, specification, and temporal relations, i.e. relations standing lower on the scale of informativeness, seem to be in general more prone to other realizations in the translation than just a dependent adverbial clause. There are 16 clauses with these meanings, 6 of which are translated by a Czech adverbial clause with the corresponding semantic role, e.g. [41] – the only clause in this group containing a conjunction in the original – the other 10 by a different type of clause, in most cases relative, both restrictive and non-restrictive. In one case, there is a change in the semantic role of the adverbial clause – [42] is specified as an adverbial of manner while the original clause expresses accompanying circumstance.

¹² “Nerestriktivní přívlastky, zvl. vyjádřené větou, vyjadřují nějakou další doplňující informaci o tom, co je pojmenováno už samým substantivem. Protože nejsou relevantní z hlediska pojmenování toho, co má mluvčí na mysli, mohou mezi obsahem přívlastkové věty a obsahem věty řídící pronikat *různé* sémantické vztahy, např. (a) příčinný: *Pan Janík proklínal starého konduktéra, který ho nevzbudil včas.*” (Karlík et al., 1995: 497-498)

- [41] *'Minty' O'Hare, as the senior O'Hare was known to countless Exeter students, was addicted to breath mints, which he lovingly sucked while reading aloud in class; he was inordinately fond of reciting his favorite passages from the books he'd assigned.*

"Mentolka" O'Hare, jak četní studenti Exeteru O'Hareovi seniorovi přezdívali, miloval mentolové pastilky, které s láskou cucal, když na hodinách studentům hlasitě předčítal. (I68)

- [42] *She kept scowling at the photograph, daring it to change*

Zamračila se na fotografii, jako kdyby ji chtěla zakázat, aby se změnila. (I10)

Eight clauses are translated by a relative clause, either restrictive or non-restrictive. Two of the three absolute constructions translated by a Czech subordinate clause, [43] and [44], are translated by restrictive relative clauses (the third is translated by an object clause and will be discussed below). Example [44] has been discussed in section 3.2.2 as problematic as to its classification as an absolute construction or a postmodifier; [43] can also be considered a border case as its subject, *all*, is coreferential with *authors*; following the noun immediately, however, the participle would be interpreted as a postmodifier. This similarity, sometimes even identity, of the two constructions is clearly manifested in the translation where the meaning is not changed despite different syntactic realizations.

- [43] *Looking over the list of my fellow panelists - other authors, all promoting their books at the book fair - there is an atrocious American male of the Unbearable Intellectual species.*

Prohlížím seznam svých spoludiskutérů - dalších autorů, kterí všichni na knižním veletrhu propagují své knihy. Je tu odporný Američan nesnesitelně intelektuálního typu. (I05)

- [44] *And so Ruth lay awake in the house with something crawling between the walls, something bigger than a mouse, and she listened to the only sound that would ever succeed in comforting her - at the same time that it made her melancholic.*

A tak Rút ležela beze spánku v domě, kde něco harašilo ve zdi, něco většího než myš, a naslouchala jedinému zvuku, kterému se podařilo ji vždy utěšit - a současně v ní vzbudit melancholii. (I66)

The third instance of translation by a relative clause is [45] where the participle is rendered as a relative clause modifying the noun phrase *sedm či téměř osm let* which functions as an adverbial of time. In this sentence, the participle is not ambiguous as to its semantic role

(which has been interpreted as specification) but as to the identification of its antecedent. The subject controller does not seem to be an individual clause element; rather it is the whole superordinate clause – the fact of Eddie O’Hare being religious. In the translation, the clause becomes part of an adverbial modifying the matrix clause but its subject is identical with the subject of the main clause, *Eddie*.

[45] *For seven, almost eight years - lasting through college but not enduring through graduate school - Eddie O'Hare would be unimpressively yet sincerely religious, because he believed that God or some heavenly power had to have kept Ted from seeing the Chevy, which was parked diagonally across from the bookstore the entire time that Eddie and Ruth had been negotiating for the photograph in Penny Pierce's frame shop.*

Sedm či téměř osm let - kdy studoval na střední škole a ještě po část vysoké - bude Eddie nevýrazně a přece upřímně věřící, protože uvěřil, že Bůh, nebo nějaká nebeská síla zabránila Tedovi zahlédnout chevrolet zaparkovaný šikmo přes ulici naproti knihkupectví po celou dobu, kdy Eddie a Rút jednali o fotografii v rámařském obchodě Penny Pierceové. (I07)

Four more adverbial clauses are translated as non-restrictive relative clauses. Three of the original participles, for example [46] (and the participle in [40] described above), are dependent on a proper noun or a noun denoting a person and thus conform to the tendency mentioned by Dušková et al. that “the antecedent of a non-restrictive relative clauses is usually a personal proper noun, a geographical name, or an equivalent expression denoting a one-member class of referents.” (MSA: 16.22.22)¹³ In Czech grammars, such clauses are not considered real modifiers as they do not determine their antecedent but contain a separated utterance.¹⁴ Thus, this type of translation seems to combine properties of both adverbials and modifiers: it expresses an action different from the main clause in the same manner as supplementary clauses do but is formally realized as a postmodifier dependent usually on the agent of the above-mentioned action. In all four clauses, the semantic relation is retained in the translation, e.g. simultaneity in [46] or posteriority in [47].

¹³ “Antecedent nerestriktivní vztahné věty je nejčastěji vlastní jméno osobní nebo zeměpisné, popř. ekvivalentní pojem (třída o jednom členu).” (MSA: 16.22.22)

¹⁴ “A compound sentence is not formed with **false dependent relative clauses**, which are only formally dependent on a noun but do not determine it. These are not considered subordinate modifying clauses but hypotactically connected utterances.” (translation mine) / “Složenou větu netvoří **nepravé vedlejší věty vztahné**, závislé jen formálně na podstatném jménu, ale nedeterminující ho. Nejde o vedlejší věty přívlastkové, nýbrž o hypotakticky/podřadně připojené výpovědi.” (Čechová et al., 2000: 319)

[46] *A prim and elegant butler stood before them, making final adjustments on the white tie and tuxedo he had apparently just donned.*

Před nimi stál formálně a elegantně oblečený sluha, který si právě upravoval bílou vázanku a bylo na něm vidět, že se právě oblékl. (B32)

[47] *Fache waved off warden Grouard and led Collet to a nearby alcove, addressing him in hushed tones.*

Fache mávnutím ruky propustil Grouarda a odvedl Colleta kousek stranou, kde se ho tlumeně zeptal. (B61)

Although our analysis focuses on participial clauses functioning as adverbials or postmodifiers, two of them were translated as neither of these but as different clause constituents. Specifically, the participle was translated as a content object clause in [48] and as an object complement in [49]. The two translations are very similar as they both complement the Czech verb *představit si* and they point out to the thin boundary between a participial adverbial clause and an object complement in English. Both in English and in Czech, verbs of perception or those implying such perception¹⁵ often require complementation of the object, and the verbs *see*, *picture*, and their Czech counterpart *představit si* all belong to this group. The participles in question were interpreted as adverbial as the first is an absolute clause and the second contains a series of coordinated postmodifiers separating the participle from the main clause. With some changes in the structure, e.g. *I could see them sitting in their cars...* or *I pictured Terrence doing his homework*, the clauses might be interpreted as object complements which is reflected in the translation.

[48] *I could just see them out there in the parking lot, most of them sitting in their cars to keep warm, chatting away on cell phones, billing somebody.*

Dokázal jsem si živě představit, jak venku na parkovišti většina z nich sedí v autech, aby se zahřáli, povídají si mobilními telefony a jistě to někomu účtují. (G19)

¹⁵ “A frequent type of a subordinate complement clause complements the object of the superordinate clause which follows verbs of perception or verbs that imply sensory perceptions.” (translation mine) / “Častý je typ vedlejší věty doplňkové vztahující se k předmětu v řídicí větě, která stává po slovesech smyslového vnímání nebo po slovesech, která smyslové vnímání implikují.” (Čechová et al., 2000: 319)

[49] *I pictured Terrence in his warm room, well fed, well dressed, safe, clean, sober, doing his homework under the strict supervision of Mr. and Mrs. Rowland, who had grown to love him almost as much as Ruby did.*

Představoval jsem si Terrence, jak sedí ve svém vytopeném pokojíku, je dobře živěný, slušně oblečený, v bezpečí, čistý, střizlivý a pod přísným dohledem pána a paní Rowlandových si pečlivě píše domácí úkoly. Rowlandovi si ho mezitím jistě zamilovali skoro stejně jako Ruby. (G27)

4.2.2.2 Postmodifying Clauses

As could be seen in Table 3, the majority of postmodifying participles are translated either by participial adjectives or by relative clauses. There does not seem to be any difference in distribution of verbs between the two groups of counterparts (for example both groups contain dynamic and state verbs) which suggests that the choice between an adjectival and clausal realization is dependent solely on the translator's judgement. A relative clause is very close in meaning to the participle but the finite form of its predicate specifies the tense, mood, and aspect of the action it expresses. Thus, for example the aspect in [50] is specified as perfective although the original allows both perfective and imperfective readings.

[50] *When Margaret McDermid had been in her forties, she'd been deeply committed to volunteer counseling of young American men coming to Canada to escape the Vietnam War.*

McDermidové přes čtyřicet, velmi se věnovala dobrovolné pomoci mladým Američanům, kteří uprchli do Kanady, aby unikli povolání do Vietnamu. (I55)

4.2.3 Other Means of Translation by a Finite Clause

By other means of translation where the participle is replaced by a finite clause we mean translations that can be analysed neither as coordinated nor as subordinate clauses, i.e. sentences where the original participle becomes the main verb, or cases where there is a change in sentence boundaries and the participle is translated by a new sentence. This group comprises 18 examples in total, the distribution of which is presented in Table 6.

CZECH COUNTERPART	ENGLISH PARTICIPIAL CLAUSE			Total	%
	Absolute	Adverbial	Postmodifying		
Main verb phrase	1	6	1	8	44.5
Synthetic counterpart	-	4	-	4	22.2
New sentence	2	4	-	6	33.3
Total	3	14	1	18	
%	16.7	77.8	5.5		100

Table 6: Other means of translation by a finite clause

The majority in this group of counterparts – 12 instances out of 18 – are translations where the participle replaces the main verb. Malá and Šaldová call such instances synthetic counterparts as they are actually a merger of the finite verb form and the participle. They identify three subtypes of synthetic counterparts: the first are phrases containing verbs describing motion, e.g. *go*, *come*, but also *sit*, or *stand*, where “the superordinate verb and the participle constitute a single semantic unit, the finite verb bears grammatical categories and the general categorial meaning of directed motion; the participle specifies the type of movement.” (Malá & Šaldová, 2013: 14) The other two types are phrases describing spending of time and verbs of speaking. Four cases corresponding to this description were identified in our sample: three fall within the first group, e.g. [51] and the fourth describes direct speech [52]:

[51] *The wind quickly blew some of the paper all around, but the gardener was dissatisfied with the results; he ran limping through the pile of paper, kicking his feet like a child in a heap of leaves.*

Vítr okamžitě několik kousků papíru rozfoukal do všech stran, ale zahradník nebyl s výsledkem spokojen. Hbitě dokulhal doprostřed hromady a kopal nohama jako dítě v kupce listí. (I64)

[52] *'It was as a reader, too,' Harry continued, ignoring her question.*

"Také jako čtenář," ignoroval Harry otázku. (I46)

The remaining 8 clauses, however, do not fall easily into any of these groups and they can be viewed only as a reduction of the superordinate clause. Although the examples below might be alternatively subsumed under some of the groups of counterparts already described, their classification as a separate group is based on the fact that the predicate of the

superordinate clause is omitted and replaced by the participle. Consequently, there is no change in the syntactic status of the participial clause (e.g. from subordinate to independent) which is lost as well and otherwise, the syntactic structure of the translated sentence remains unchanged.

Some of these reductions seem to be the result of the translator's attempt to simplify redundancies while others are compensated for by some other clause element. In [53], for example, the omission of the content expressed by the main clause might be ascribed to its being a precondition for the action of the participial clause, in other words, loosening a bow tie logically precedes the unbuttoning of a collar. A similar tendency has been observed in the instances of zero correspondence, i.e. complete omission of the participial clause, which are described in section 4.3. The presumed redundancy in [54] is of a different nature as it is the repetition of the verb *hit* that might explain its deletion in the translation and replacement by the original participle. Although the translated clause is a subordinate temporal clause, it belongs to this group of counterparts – the participial clause was originally embedded in the time clause in question which is thus neither an enhancement nor a literal translation but an example of reduction.

- [53] *Loosening his bow tie, Rémy unbuttoned his high, starched, wing-tipped collar and felt as if he could breathe for the first time in years.*

Remy si uvolnil vysoký škrobený límeček a bylo mu, jako kdyby se poprvé po mnoha letech mohl nerušeně nadýchat čerstvého vzduchu. (B16)

- [54] *Each time she hit the tin, aiming deliberately low, she hit the ball hard enough so that the resounding tin was loud.*

Pokaždé, když mířila na tin a záměrně nízko, zasáhla míček dostatečně tvrdě, aby se plechový pásek hlučně rozezněl. (I58)

In three sentences, the participial clause becomes the main predicate verb but the meaning of the original matrix clause verb is expressed by a different clause element, for example by an adverbial prepositional phrase in [55]. In [56] the participle is moved to complement an aspectual verb phrase which is not part of the original but the translator's enhancement of the text. Moreover, the synthetic nature of Czech makes it possible to express

the participial phrase *growing fainter* with one word *slábnout*. The reason for this change is probably the overall change in the order of actions in the sentence – the original puts the final action *disappeared* first, being followed by the participial clause describing the process of disappearing. In the translation, however, the order is iconic and linear which is emphasized by the inserted verb *začaly*.

[55] *I had never had so much fun spending two hundred dollars.*

Ještě nikdy jsem neutratil dvě stě dolarů s takovou radostí. (G37)

[56] *And then the voices disappeared into the background, growing fainter and fainter as my colleagues hit the back door.*

Načež se hlasy začaly vzdalovat a slábnout, a když za sebou moji drazí kolegové zabouchli zadní dveře, ztichly hlasy docela. (G06)

The only postmodifying participle in this subgroup [57] is also translated as the main verb while the original finite verb phrase is translated as a pre-modifying adjectival phrase:

[57] *Since then, the stream of self-important historians and art buffs arriving at his door had seemed never-ending.*

Od toho okamžiku se před jeho dveřmi objevoval zdánlivě nekonečný proud nadutých historiků a milovníků umění. (B11)

One slightly different type of translation was also classified as a replacement of the main verb by the participial form as it is the only occurrence of such structural change – [58]. No clause is omitted in this sentence but the dependency structure is reversed and the absolute construction becomes the superordinate clause. The original matrix clause is translated as coordinated with the time clause and thus becomes part of an adverbial of time realized by two coordinated dependent clauses. Moreover, the functional sentence perspective is considerably different in this translation. While the original rhematic element is the fact of moving east, the translated sentence presents the absolute clause as the most dynamic element due to its status as the main clause and its final position in the sentence.

[58] *As they turned onto Parsonage Lane in Sagaponack, they were moving due east with the elongated shadow of the car running ahead of them.*

Když v Sagaponacku zahruli do Parsonage Lane a jeli k východu, běžel před nimi prodloužený stín auta. (I48)

The third group of other translations by a finite clause comprises six instances in which the original sentence containing the participial clause was split and the participle was thus translated as a new sentence. All of the six participles in question are the second of a pair of coordinated participial clauses – this, however, cannot be generalized as the motivation for the splitting of a sentence as a number of similar structures were translated as coordinated clauses. Neither can the reformulation be attributed to the complexity of the sentence and subsequent simplification as none of the clauses in [59], for example, is particularly complex. There are two instances of absolute constructions, e.g. [60], which may be considered syntactically more complex but again, parallel absolute clauses were translated by coordination as well.

[59] *Collet was downstairs in seconds, running toward the back door, grabbing one of his agents on the way.*

Collet byl vmžiku dole a běžel k zadním dveřím. Po cestě popadl jednoho agenta. (B56)

[60] *The other seven scrambled off the table like scalded dogs, all yelling and digging toward the door, half of them dragging the other half.*

Zbývajících sedm kolegů s rykem seskočilo ze stolu, jako když někdo opaří smečku psů, a se stejným řevem se řítí ke dveřím. Jedna polovina vláčela druhou za sebou. (G56)

Thus, the motivation of such structural changes seems to be solely the translator's assessment of the text. On the other hand, these divisions correspond to the tendency that has been already mentioned – the tendency of the Czech language to dissociate individual actions into independent finite clauses. While the English participle is connected to the main clause hypotactically, the majority of these clauses are translated as independent and connected paratactically.¹⁶ Splitting a sentence and translating a participial clause as a new one goes even a step further; this development can be summarized in Vachek's words:

Obviously, one has to do here with something more deep-reaching than a mere difference in syntactical forms: what is involved is two different ways

¹⁶ Cf. the translation of the participial clause in [59] *running toward the back door* by a coordinated finite clause *a běžel k zadním dveřím* or the absolute in [60] *all yelling and digging toward the door* translated paratactically as *a se stejným řevem se řítí ke dveřím*.

in which the two languages tackle the realities of the outside world. In Czech one observes the tendency to dissociate the reality to be expressed into a number of actions or processes, which may be mutually either coordinated or subordinated; in English, on the other hand, a different tendency is at work, viz. one that endeavours to grasp the same reality as a single, basic action or process, absorbing all other potential actions or processes as its elements or concomitant circumstances. (Vachek, 1955: 65)

Nevertheless, two sentences should be commented on where important factors affecting the translation can be found within the sentence itself. First, in [61] the participial clause follows a dash separating it from the main clause, which can influence the translation and the change of sentence boundaries. Second, the participle in [62] is reformulated as the expression *make someone wonder* has no direct counterpart in Czech. Thus, the change of subject (which is identical with the subject of the superordinate clause in the original but realized by a subordinate clause in the translation) may play a role in the rendering of the translation. Moreover, the new sentence is introduced by the conjunction *až* which can also introduce subordinate adverbial clauses of result (which is the semantic role of the original participial clause). This contributes to a higher degree of coherence between the sentences than in the other examples.

[61] *She swam to the shallow end, and he followed - still holding the wineglass.*

Plavala k mělkému konci a Scott ji následoval. Stále držel skleničku v ruce.
(I35)

[62] *He looked straight ahead through thick sunglasses, thoroughly ignoring me, and making me wonder for a second why, exactly, I was inspecting him.*

Hodně tmavými slunečními brýlemi se díval přímo před sebe a dokonale mě přehlížel. Až mi na okamžik prolétlo hlavou, proč si ho vlastně já tak zkoumavě prohlížím. (G02)

4.2.4 Verbless Constructions

The last group of counterparts comprises translations by neither a finite nor a non-finite clause, i.e. various instances of verbless constructions. These include above all prepositional phrases but also other marginal realizations. The number of the individual translations is summarized in Table 7 according to the syntactic type of the original clause and its Czech counterpart. The first three groups correspond to the three most frequent

realizations of an adverbial in Czech as described by Čechová et al.: “An adverbial is usually realized by an adverb or an adverbial case, simple or prepositional.” (Čechová et al., 2000: 295)¹⁷

CZECH COUNTERPART	ENGLISH PARTICIPIAL CLAUSE			Total	%
	Absolute	Adverbial	Postmodifying		
Prepositional phrase	1	9	1	11	57.9
Adverb	-	4	-	4	21.1
Nominal case	-	2	-	2	10.5
Object of the main verb	-	2	-	2	10.5
Total	1	17	1	19	
%	5.3	89.4	5.3		100

Table 7: Translations of participial clauses by verbless constructions

Half of the clauses in this group were translated by a prepositional phrase; these can be further subdivided into translations where the lexical meaning of the participle is omitted, or translations in which the meaning was shifted to a noun or an adjective within the prepositional phrase. To exemplify the first subgroup which comprises four cases, consider example [63] where the lexical meaning of *feeling* is not explicitly expressed by any element but rather implied by the whole construction. Similarly, there are two instances of the participial form *wearing* which is translated either as the preposition *v* or *s* with only an implication of the lexical meaning of the verb. This is probably caused by the fact that its Czech counterpart *nosit* is only used imperfectively for habitual actions. One of these two cases, [64], is the only postmodifier in this group of correspondences.

[63] *THE DOOR ISN'T FULLY CLOSED! Feeling a surge of panic, Vernet shoved hard against the outside of the door, but it refused to budge.*

Dveře nejsou zamčené! Vernet se v panice pokusil dveře přitlačit volnou rukou, a tak je dovřít. Marně. (B27)

¹⁷ “Přísllovečné určení bývá nejčastěji vyjádřeno příslovcem nebo přísllovečným pádem prostým či předložkovým.” (Čechová et al., 2000: 295)

- [64] *Everyone had seen the paintings of Knights Templar wearing white tunics emblazoned with red equal-armed crosses.*

Každý už nejspíš někdy viděl nějakou malbu, zobrazující rytíře templářského řádu v bílých pláštích označených jasně červenými rovnoramennými kříži. (B46)

In the other seven instances of translation by a prepositional phrase, the meaning of the participle is always expressed by some element of the prepositional complementation, usually a noun as in [65] and [66], or (in one case) an adjective in [67]. All the cited examples demonstrate the frequent translation by the preposition *s* complemented by an instrumental case of a noun.

- [65] *Not to be confused with PI, Stettner added, grinning.*

"Nepleťte si ho s pí," dodal Stettner s úsměvem. (B50)

- [66] *It was twenty feet long, solid walnut like most of the furniture at Drake & Sweeney, and with me on one end and Umstead grunting on the other, we managed to inch it over about six feet until Mister said stop.*

Byl to šestimetrový těžký stůl, vyrobený z masivního ořechu jako většina nábytku ve firmě Drake & Sweeney. Chopil jsem se ho na jedné straně a Umstead s hekáním na druhé a podařilo se nám ho po kouskách odstrkat asi dva metry, než nám Pán řekl, abychom toho nechali. (G42)

- [67] *Eddie occupied one end of the middle row, as if he might have arrived late for the photograph and, feigning a fashionable lack of concern, had slipped into the frame at the last second.*

Eddie stál na konci prostřední řady, jako kdyby dorazil k fotografování pozdě, a s módně předstíraným nezájmem vklouzl do záběru na poslední chvíli. (I43)

Four participial clauses are translated as adverbs; more precisely, one is translated as an adverb – the adverbial of condition in [68]. The other three cases are all copular verbs, *sounding*, *looking*, and *feeling* which are lost in the translation as they carry only little semantic information and function rather as a linking element. Instead, it is their complementation which is translated as an adverbial, e.g. [69].

- [68] *Sitting or standing, he squared his shoulders in an unnatural way; his body maintained a tense, almost military overerectness.*

Vestoje i vsedě měl nepřírozeně vzpřímená ramena a tělo zachovávalo strnulý, téměř vojenský postoj. (I28)

[69] *Sophie glanced up, looking surprised.*

Sophie překvapeně vzhledla. (B18)

Unlike English, the Czech inflectional system makes it possible to express adverbial meanings by means of nominal cases. Such translation was used in two cases, [70] and [71], expressing manner and simultaneity respectively. Nevertheless, both are translated by means of the instrumental case without any changes in the meaning.

[70] *The Lexus was parked near a shed, facing us.*

Lexus byl zaparkovaný poblíž budky, přední částí směrem k nám. (G38)

[71] *I'd even rehearsed it driving to Bethesda.*

Dokonce jsem si to cestou do Bethesda zkoušel v autě. (G50)

Two participial clauses were translated as the object of the superordinate verb. The change in [72] may be ascribed to the fact that the Czech verb *naúčtovat* requires an object and the use of a different verb would probably lead to even larger structural changes. In [73] the participle becomes a prepositional object but we found it convenient to separate this kind of translation from adverbial prepositional phrases. The Czech verb *pokračovat* is a literal translation of *go on* but it requires prepositional complementation. However, the translation treats the original clause as part of an aspectual verb phrase, i.e. as a complement of the verb *go on*. If not separated by a comma, the participle *babbling* would be analysed as such and not included in our sample; nevertheless, it is separated from the main clause which marks it as a supplementary clause. The translation demonstrates the thin boundary between complements and adverbial clauses although the latter can be syntactically and intonationally separated from the superordinate clause.

[72] *As the minutes dragged on, I caught myself wondering how in the world the other four hundred lawyers in the building would manage to bill while waiting for the hostage crisis to end.*

Jak se minuty táhly, přistihl jsem se, že uvažuji, jak se těm zbývajícím čtyřem stovkám právníků podaří naúčtovat někomu tu dobu čekání, až skončí celá patálie s rukojmími. (G18)

[73] *She would have gone on, babbling insincerities, but Hannah stopped her.*

Byla by v tom neupřímném blábolení pokračovala, ale Hana ji zarazila. (I31)

4.3 Zero Correspondences

Five participial clauses in our sample were not translated but omitted in the target text, with no element in the sentence that could be linked to the meaning expressed by the non-finite clause. It is not easy to find the motivation for such omission but the most probable reason seems to be the translator's judgment of the participial clause as somehow unnecessary or redundant. This seems to be the case in two sentences where the non-finite clause expresses some presupposition – a movement or change of position – of the action of the superordinate clause. Thus, in [74] it is clear from the previous context (in brackets) that Sophie was looking at some writing before “facing the front again.” This change of position is implied by her subsequent leaning forward and might thus seem unnecessary to specify in the translation. Similarly, and even more conspicuously, the “stepping inside” a shower in [75] is a precondition for its use.

[74] (*Sophie stared in amazement at the purple writing on the back of the key. 24 Rue Haxo. AN ADDRESS! MY GRANDFATHER WROTE DOWN AN ADDRESS! "Where is this?" Langdon asked.*) *Sophie had no idea. Facing front again, she leaned forward and excitedly asked the driver, "CONNAISSEZ-VOUS LA RUE HAXO?"*

To Sophie netušila. Naklonila se k řidiči a vzrušeně se ho zeptala: "Connaissez-vous la Rue Haxo?" (B42)

[75] *Getting out of bed, he walked to the marble shower. Stepping inside, he let the powerful jets massage his shoulders. Still, the thought enthralled him.*

Pak vstal z postele, přešel k mramorové sprše a nechal si ramena masírovat proudy vody. Ta myšlenka ho neustále fascinovala. (B10)

Semantically, the above examples express the adverbial meaning of anteriority and the action they express is easily retrievable for the reader by relying on his world knowledge. The omission of the non-finite clause is more striking in a sentence where it expresses one of the more informative meanings – causality. The only element in the Czech translation of [76] suggesting causal relationship is the adverb *proto*. However, it refers to the previous sentence and part of the original meaning is lost in the translation.

[76] "*... Jacques, being a man of prominence, did not have the luxury of disappearing. It only made sense that Sophie, being the eldest, would stay in Paris to be taught and raised by Jacques, close to the heart and protection of the Priory.*"

"... Jacques byl už tehdy významný muž, a nemohl se tedy jen tak ztratit. Rozhodli jsme se proto, že Sophie zůstane v Paříži a Jacques ji vychová, v blízkosti srdce Převorství, a také pod jeho ochranou." (B40)

The last two instances of omission are [77] and [78] – an adverbial clause of manner and a postmodifying clause respectively. Both clauses express meanings less informative than the previous cases and their omission might be ascribed to their not giving any information crucial for the movement of the story. Nevertheless, these are only tentative conclusions and the rendering of the non-finite clauses in question is dependent solely on the translator's judgement and intuition. Another factor preventing us from proposing a general tendency is the fact that four out of five of the sentences just described were excerpted from a single text.

[77] *Rémy had pictured the beach towns on the Côte d'Azur, where he planned to live out his days basking in the sun and letting others serve him for a change.*

Remy si představoval pláž v Toulonu, kde chtěl prožít zbytek svých dnů a nechat ostatní, aby pro změnu sloužili zase jemu. (B70)

[78] *Under the tires of the Chevy, the crunching of the perfect stones in the driveway leading to the Vaughn mansion sounded like the breaking bones of small animals.*

Křupání dokonalých oblázků pod pneumatikami chevroletu na příjezdové cestě znělo jako lámání kostí zvířátek. (I27)

5 CONCLUSION

Part 4 described the sample from the point of view of the classification of the Czech translations. With a single occurrence, the transgressive was confirmed as a very rare form and as expected, finite clauses comprised the vast majority of the translation paradigm of participial clauses. Seen from the other perspective, i.e. from that of the distribution of the original clauses, the sample can be described as follows: the adverbial function seems to be the most frequent use of participial clauses as it comprises 87.5% of the whole sample, 7% of which represent absolute constructions; postmodifying clauses make up just under 13%.

The highest ratio of congruent correspondences was displayed by postmodifying clauses, half of which were translated by de-verbal participial adjectives. The English participial postmodifiers also resemble their Czech counterparts in that the transition between participles and adjectives is very fluid and in Czech the transgressive is one of the forms from which de-verbal adjectives can be derived. Moreover, as the adjectives often require the same complementation as the verb, the resulting Czech translations can be as complex as the original. The majority of the remaining postmodifying clauses were translated by a relative clause which is also a frequent alternative realisation form of postmodification in English. The formal proximity of participial postmodifiers and adverbials was commented on as frequently ambiguous and in some places even irrelevant to distinguish. This was reflected in some congruent translations across syntactic functions. In other words, there were instances of translations of adverbials by participial adjectives or by non-restrictive relative clauses, albeit sparse, which point out the thin borderline between the two functions.

Adverbial clauses, including absolute constructions, are mostly translated as finite clauses, most of them in a paratactic relation to the clause corresponding to the English matrix clause. The crucial difference between the two manners of presenting the same content is the formal specificity of the finite predicate which explicitly expresses all verbal morphological categories, i.e. the person and number (which makes the subject more explicit as well), the tense, mood, voice and aspect. The Czech aspect, expressed by a verbal ending, has been

observed to be able to distinguish the time relations of simultaneity (often translated as imperfective action) from anteriority and also posteriority (rendered as perfective). The latter two relations are also dependent on the clausal order which often reflects the actual order of events. Even in the English originals, the ordering of clauses seems to observe the principle of iconicity; clauses expressing anteriority and other meanings connected with it (e.g. reason) therefore often stand in initial position while meanings grouped around posteriority are expressed by finally placed clauses.

Where the participial clause expresses simultaneity (and other meanings which derive from it), the position of the clause is somewhat less strict. This is, however, where the Czech translation has a considerable specifying effect as coordinated clauses are often interpreted as a series of subsequent actions. In some contexts, however, such linear arrangement makes it possible to reflect the functional sentence perspective of the original sentence by placing the less dynamic elements (i.e. the counterpart of the backgrounded participial clause) into the thematic initial position while the counterpart of the main clause follows after.

As far as other, more informative, meanings are concerned, Czech makes the same use of coordination as English does of supplementary clauses. In other words, although the basic function of coordination is to express additiveness, various semantic relations can be implied between the coordinated elements which are interpreted by the reader on the basis of the context and his or her world knowledge. As the number of subordinate clauses as counterparts of the participial clauses is rather low, the assumption that more informative meanings tend to get translated by dependent clauses, which are semantically more specific than the relations between coordinated clauses, could not be verified. On the other hand, there is a high proportion of the basic meanings of time relations and accompanying circumstances among the subordinate clauses in our sample.

In general, the low frequency of subordinate clauses in the translation paradigm of adverbial participial clauses is rather surprising. Being marked as subordinate by the non-finite form of their predicate and expressing various adverbial meanings, participial clauses

suggest an easy paraphrase by a dependent adverbial clause. The emphasis, however, seems to be on their semantic indeterminacy allowing for more readings, even simultaneous, which is reproduced in the translation by means of coordination. In both languages, the meaning is thus expressed by means of pragmatic implications. It can be generalized that Czech translations by a finite clause can result in the specification or fixation of the meaning, especially in the case of subordinate clauses. Where the meaning is already specified in the original, for example by a conjunction, it is carried to the translation as well. There are some supplementive clauses linked syndetically, all of which are either translated as dependent clauses or contain structural changes preventing ambiguous reading.

In case there is some omission in the translation (i.e. zero correspondences, translations by verbless phrases, or cases where the participle replaces the main verb), the omitted part is usually some redundant information. This means either instances of repetition or omissions of propositions which can be understood as a presupposition of the action expressed by the participial clause. In such cases, these presuppositions are retrievable from that action as they are inherently implied by it.

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RÉSUMÉ

Tématem této diplomové práce je popis a klasifikace způsobů, jakými se do češtiny překládají anglické participiální polovětné konstrukce ve funkci postmodifikátoru a příslovečného určení. Rozdíly mezi anglickými a českými nefinitními tvary jsou jak v jejich systému, tak v jejich použití. Jak píše Dušková a kol., „[v] angličtině je tento systém bohatší (oproti češtině zahrnuje navíc gerundium) a rozvinutější (anglické jmenné tvary rozlišují nejen slovesný rod, aktivum a pasivum, nýbrž i časové vztahy: současnost (popř. následnost) proti předčasnosti).“ (Dušková a kol., 2009: 15) To pak vede k širšímu užití nefinitních tvarů, které se v angličtině vyskytují vesměs ve všech syntaktických funkcích. Participium přítomné a participium perfekta, na něž je práce zaměřena, mohou plnit funkci modifikátoru, příslovečného určení a doplňku předmětu, kde proti nim v češtině často stojí vedlejší věty s určitým tvarem slovesným.

Teoretická část práce shrnuje informace dostupné v gramatikách a podrobně popisuje chování *-ing* participia z hlediska syntaktického i sémantického. Po formální stránce je přítomné participium totožné s dalším nefinitním tvarem – s gerundiem – a s některými odvozenými přídavnými jmény. Z toho důvodu se kapitola 2.2 věnuje podrobnému popisu těchto tvarů včetně kritérií pro jejich rozlišení. Přesné vymezení jednotlivých tvarů je důležité především pro excerpci vět pro analytickou část, která se zaměřuje pouze na některá užití participiálních konstrukcí, jež tak musí být odlišena od ostatních. Přídavná jména se od participií liší především rozdílnými intenzifikátory (*very* a *too* pro adjektiva, *very much* nebo *too much* pro slovesa), dají se stupňovat, pojí se na rozdíl od přičestí se všemi sponovými slovesy a v případě tranzitivních sloves nevyžadují předmět.

Rozdíl mezi participiem a gerundiem se v současné angličtině pomalu stírá, přestože prošly rozdílným historickým vývojem, a v anglických gramatikách je nalezneme již jako jednu kategorii: *-ing participle* (Quirk a kol., 1985) nebo *gerund-participle* (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002). Tato práce se drží přístupu české lingvistické školy a na základě *Mluvnice současné angličtiny na pozadí češtiny* (Dušková a kol., 2009) dodržuje rozlišení gerundia a

participia jako dvou různých tvarů, které plní ve větě rozdílné syntaktické funkce. Jediná funkce, kde se může vyskytnout jak gerundium, tak přítomné přičestí – a kde tak dochází k nejasnostem – je modifikátor substantiva. V tomto případě je spolehlivým testem možná parafráze, kdy přičestí alternuje s vedlejší větou a gerundium s předložkovou frází. Dalším testem je klesavá intonace s jedním hlavním přízvukem na začátku gerundiální fráze a přízvuky na obou slovech fráze participiální. Takové případy se ale v praktické části této práce nevyskytují, protože vedlejší věty nemohou plnit funkci atributu a v pozici postmodifikátoru je gerundium vždy odlišeno výskytem v předložkové frázi.

Kapitola 2.3 se zaměřuje především na syntaktický popis jednotlivých větněčlenských funkcí participiálních *-ing* konstrukcí a na problém, který v analýze působí tenká hranice mezi nimi. Kapitoly 2.4 a 2.5 vycházejí především z knihy B. Kortmanna *Free Adjuncts and Absolutes in English: Problems of control and interpretation*, jež se podrobně zabývá problémem identifikace podmětu, který je v polovětných konstrukcích většinou nevyjádřen a pouze implikován kontextem, a sémantické klasifikace participiálních vět. Z překladatelského hlediska jsou tyto rysy participiálních vět velmi důležité, protože se oba promítnou v překladu explicitně – podmět v podobě koncovky slovesa, která se shoduje s podmětem v osobě a čísle, sémantická role v přítomnosti spojky, popřípadě v některé ze slovesných kategorií. Správná interpretace okolností nevyjádřených v původní formě je tedy klíčová pro přesný překlad a dá se očekávat, že přinejmenším některé z nich se v překladu ztratí.

V drtivé většině případů je podmět participiálních vět identický s podmětem nadřazené věty. Quirk a kol. (1985: 1122-1123) dále vymezují několik typů vět, kde toto pravidlo neplatí, a které se přesto dají považovat za přijatelné. Kortmann oproti tomu ukazuje, že množina přijatelných vět je mnohem větší; vzhledem k tomu, že předpokladem komunikace je očekávání smysluplného sdělení, čtenář či posluchač se vždy snaží větu interpretovat, což zahrnuje také identifikaci podmětu. Ten může být identifikovatelný na základě jiného členu nadřazené věty, popřípadě z kontextu či situace, do které je výpověď zasazena.

Co se týče nejednoznačnosti sémantické role adverbiálních participiálních vět, ta je způsobena jednak možností asyndetického připojení, jednak absencí většiny morfologických kategorií. Bez přítomnosti spojky, která by vymezovala sémantickou roli nebo alespoň zúžila interpretaci na jejich skupinu, může participiální věta být interpretována jinak každým mluvčím, může být dokonce interpretována jinak jedním mluvčím v různých situacích, popřípadě v sobě může kombinovat několik významů zároveň. Kortmannův přínos k popisu sémantických rolí a jejich analýzy spočívá v jeho návrhu tzv. *scale of informativeness*, popř. *specificity*, což může být volně přeloženo jako stupnice informativnosti nebo specifčnosti jednotlivých významových rolí. Tato stupnice je založena na množství informací (daných např. kontextem nebo všeobecnými znalostmi) potřebných k určení jednotlivých sémantických rolí; jinými slovy čím více dodatečných informací interpretace vyžaduje, tím specifičtější je sémantická role dané konstrukce. Nejméně informativní/specifické jsou významy prostého doplnění nebo průvodních okolností, výše na stupnici se pak řadí významy současnosti a způsobu. Zmíněné řazení je založené na tom, že interpretace děje participiální věty jako současného s dějem věty hlavní je výchozí nepříznačový význam. Druhá skupina informativnějších významů je založena na vztazích předčasnosti (z níž vyplývají vztahy příčiny a prostředku) a následnosti (té podléhají významy výsledku nebo účelu). Nejvýše se řadí vztahy podmínkové a přípustkové, které vyžadují největší oporu v kontextu. Taková klasifikace adverbiálních významů mimo jiné ukazuje, že množství možných interpretací není vždy celkový počet významů, ale pouze jejich skupina, např. pokud věta participiální časově následuje po větě hlavní, nemůže být interpretována jako věta příčinná.

Druhá polovina práce se věnuje analýze autentických vět obsahujících participiální konstrukce, jejímž cílem je zjistit, jakým způsobem se tyto konstrukce překládají do češtiny a jaké faktory mohou mít na překlad vliv. Pro účely této analýzy bylo za pomoci paralelního korpusu *InterCorp* excerpováno 210 vět a jejich překladů ze tří současných amerických románů D. Browna, J. Grishama a J. Irvinga. Kapitola 3 popisuje jednotlivé kroky excerptce, která z velké části spočívala v ručním třízení excerptovaných vět a vyřazení jiných užití přítomného participia a participia perfekta jako jsou průběhové tvary sloves, premodifikátory

či doplňky předmětu. Kapitola také zmiňuje některé z příkladů, kde určení větněčlenské funkce není jednoznačné, včetně ukázky toho, jak lze v takových případech postupovat. Vzhledem k tomu, že podobných vět bylo málo na to, aby tvořily samostatnou skupinu, každá z nich byla nakonec klasifikována buď jako modifikátor nebo jako adverbiale.

Praktická část práce popisuje všechny typy překladu, které byly během analýzy identifikovány. Kapitola 4 je rozdělena na tři hlavní části podle typu korespondence jako kongruentní, divergentní nebo nulové. Kongruentní neboli identické překlady jsou časté především pro postmodifikující participia, která jsou většina překládána příslušnými adjektivy odvozenými od sloves. Přechodník – tedy český formální protiklad anglického participia – byl v celém vzorku pouze jeden, což potvrzuje tvrzení Čechové a kol., že „[t]vary přechodníku přítomného jsou knižní. [...] Dnes jsou tvary přechodníku minulého už zcela zastaralé, užívá se jich zřídka, a to ve stylu vědeckém a uměleckém.“ (Čechová a kol., 2000: 223-224)

Divergentní korespondence, tzn. překlady jinou syntaktickou strukturou, byly nejčastějším překladatelským řešením. Většina vět obsahujících participiální konstrukce v adverbciální funkci je překládána jako souřadné souvětí, v němž původní věta hlavní a věta závislá stojí v koordinaci. Důsledkem této změny se participiální konstrukce – původně prezentovaná jako méně důležitá informace – ocitá na stejné úrovni s větou hlavní. Část sémantické variability adverbciálních *-ing* vět je nicméně v překladu zachována, protože koordinacím spojením mohou být implikovány i jiné než temporální (tzn. informativnější) vztahy. Interpretace mluvčím pak stejně jako u anglických vět závisí na množství dodatečných informací v textu samotném nebo na lingvistickém povědomí a schopnosti podobné vztahy interpretovat.

Co se týče časových vztahů mezi větami, současné děje jsou většinou překládány nedokonavým videm, zatímco děje předčasné a následné videm dokonavým. Poslední dva vztahy jsou potom závislé i na pozici slovesa ve větě, protože pořadí jednotlivých vět často ikonicky reflektuje skutečný sled událostí, které popisují. Zatímco v takovém souřadném spojení se může ztratit možnost změny pořadí vět – což bývá jedna z charakteristik vět

participiálních – výsledný překlad může způsobem řazení finitních vět nahradit signalizací míry výpovědní dynamičnosti pomocí nefinitní konstrukce v angličtině. Přestože mohou být interpretovány jako předčasné, mají věty v iniciální pozici zároveň menší výpovědní hodnotu a jsou tak vnímány jako informace na pozadí, stejně jako jejich předloha.

Obecně by se dalo říci, že věty v českém překladu mohou být specifitější než anglické polovětné konstrukce, a to především z toho důvodu, že určitý tvar slovesa zde vyjadřuje již všechny slovesné kategorie. Pokud je původní anglická věta víceznačná a umožňuje více interpretací, bývá v českém překladu zdůrazněn informativnější význam. Nestává se ale, že by byla anglická věta o mnoho specifitější než překlad. Několik případů, kde je původní věta uvozena podřadicí spojkou, je přeloženo buď vedlejší větou závislou, nebo je jinak specifikováno, aby nedošlo k nejasnostem.

Pokud se stane, že se některá část anglického originálu v překladu ztratí (což je případ překladů neobsahujících sloveso, např. předložkových frází, nulových korespondencí nebo vět, kde původní participium nahrazuje hlavní sloveso), pak jde většinou o informaci nějakým způsobem nadbytečnou. V takovém překladu se tedy většinou nevyjadřují sdělení, která by se už opakovala, nebo části věty, jejichž obsah popisuje předpoklad pro obsah participiální věty a jehož proběhnutí se dá z děje participia jednoduše odvodit.

APPENDIX

Congruent Correspondences

#	original	translation
B07	Considered the most anatomically correct drawing of its day, Da Vinci's THE VITRUVIAN MAN had become a modern-day icon of culture, <u>appearing</u> on posters, mouse pads, and T-shirts around the world.	Da Vinciho Vitruviova figura byla ve své době považována za anatomicky nejdokonalejší kresbu a postupně se stala kulturní ikonou, <u>objevující se</u> po celém světě na plakátech, podložkách pod myši i na tričkách.
B38	The left headlight was gone, and the right one looked like an eyeball <u>dangling</u> from its socket.	Levý reflektor byl úplně uražený a pravý vypadal jako oko <u>vypadlé</u> z dílku.
B68	There were, of course, an infinite number of Rose Lines because every point on the globe could have a longitude drawn through it <u>connecting</u> north and south poles.	Takových linií existuje samozřejmě nekonečné množství, protože každým bodem na Zemi lze vést čáru <u>mířící</u> severojižním směrem.
G35	He helped me up the stairs at my first prospect, a run-down flat with the unmistakable smell of cat urine <u>emanating</u> from the carpet.	Když jsme šli na první prohlídku, pomáhal mi do schodů. Byl to rozpadající se byt s nezaměnitelným pachem kočičí moči <u>linoucím se</u> z koberce.
G36	Lowly black street people <u>living</u> like animals.	Zaostali černí lidé <u>žijící</u> jako zvířata.
I01	Far away, at the other end of the bed, is another bare foot - logically <u>belonging</u> to a second child, not only because of the sizable distance between the bare feet but also because of a different pair of pajamas on this second leg.	Dál, na druhé straně postele, byla druhá bosá noha, logicky <u>patřící</u> druhému dítěti, nejen s ohledem na velkou vzdálenost mezi bosýma nohama, ale také proto, že na druhé noze bylo jiné pyžamo.
I04	'Uh ...' Eddie said to the girl <u>taking</u> tickets, 'I don't need a ticket because I'm the introducer.'	"Uf . . .", řekl dívce <u>vybírající</u> vstupenky, "nepotřebuji lístek, protože budu čtení uvádět."
I08	The other people <u>waiting</u> for the bus knew enough to step back from the curb, but Eddie stood where he was.	Ostatní lidé <u>čekající</u> na autobus byli moudří a ustoupili dál od obrubníku, ale Eddie zůstal stát, kde byl.
I09	The next morning, in the carriage-house apartment, Eddie had only begun his arrangement of the pink cashmere cardigan on the bed - together with a lilac-colored silk camisole and matching panties - when he heard Marion's exaggerated clomping on the stairs <u>leading</u> up from the garage.	Příštího rána si Eddie právě začal aranžovat na postel růžový kašmírový svetr - spolu s hedvábným kombiné fialové barvy a ladícími kalhotkami, když na schodech <u>vedoucích</u> z garáže uslyšel Marionino přehnané dupání.
I13	A college with questionable admissions standards had briefly flourished; it existed solely to provide a four-year student deferment for those young men <u>seeking</u> not to be drafted into the war in Vietnam.	Krátce se tu dařilo střední škole s pochybnými normami pro přijímání studentů, která existovala výhradně proto, aby mladíkům <u>snažícím se</u> vyhnout odvodu do války ve Vietnamu poskytla čtyřletý odklad.
I32	'No, you look,' Eddie said, still <u>not understanding</u> that he was finding his voice.	"Ne, vy se podívejte," odsekl, stále <u>nechápaje</u> , že hledá svůj hlas.

#	original	translation
I33	He quickly fell asleep, and his father went back to bed and fell asleep, too, but Tim was awake the whole night long, because he didn't know what a mouse was and he wanted to be awake when the thing <u>crawling</u> between the walls came crawling back.	Rychle usnul, otec se také vrátil do postele a usnul, ale Tim probděl celou noc, protože nevěděl, co je to myš, a chtěl být vzhůru, kdyby se ta věc <u>harašící</u> ve zdi znovu vrátila.
I44	Eddie couldn't believe the abruptness of it: the open window of the Mercedes, Marion's hair blowing in the wind, Marion's arm <u>waving</u> out the window.	Nemohl uvěřit, že se všechno odehrálo tak rychle a stroze: otevřené okénko mercedesu, Marioniny vlasy vlající ve větru, její paže <u>mávající</u> z okénka.
I50	The gardener had scowled at both Eddie and Ted, but Ted had noticed neither the gardener nor the ladder; the squid ink, <u>staining</u> the water in the fountain, had entirely captured Ted's attention.	Zahradník se na oba mračil, ale Ted si zahradníka ani žebříku nevšiml. Jeho pozornost zcela upoutal olihňový inkoust <u>znečišťující</u> vodu ve fontáně.
I59	'Did they both wake up?' Ruth asked, <u>staring</u> at the photograph.	"Probudili se oba?" zeptala se Rút, upřeně <u>pozorující</u> fotografii.
I61	'Three needles,' Ruth reminded him, <u>counting</u> the stitches.	"Tři jehly," připomněla mu Rút <u>počítající</u> stehy.
I67	Mrs Vaughn, still in a fury and still <u>decrying</u> the artist as 'the epitome of diabolism,' returned to her own driveway.	Paní Vaughanová, rozzuřená a neustále <u>vykřikující</u> , že umělec je "ztělesněním d'ábla", se vrátila k vlastnímu příjezdu k domu.

Divergent Correspondences: Coordinated Clauses

#	original	translation
B01	<u>Having handed</u> the rosewood box to Langdon, she could feel herself momentarily forgetting all about the Holy Grail, the Priory of Sion, and all the mysteries of the past day.	Palisandrovou truhlici <u>předala</u> Langdonovi a na okamžik úplně zapomněla na celý svatý grál, Převorství sionské a záhady minulého dne.
B02	<u>Killing</u> the engine, he checked the area.	<u>Vypnul</u> motor a rozhlédl se po okolí.
B03	Langdon nodded, <u>moving</u> quickly to keep pace with Fache.	Langdon přikývl a <u>přidal</u> do kroku, aby Fachevi stačil.
B04	"The password," Sophie said, <u>looking</u> again at the poem.	"To heslo," odpověděla mu Sophie a <u>znovu si pročítala</u> celou báseň.
B05	"Good," Fache said, <u>lighting</u> a cigarette and stalking into the hall.	"Dobře," pokývl Fache, <u>zapálil si</u> cigaretu a vyšel na chodbu.
B08	With their new carte blanche from the Vatican, the Knights Templar expanded at a staggering rate, both in numbers and political force, <u>amassing</u> vast estates in over a dozen countries.	S vatikánským požehnáním se tento rytířský řád neuvěřitelně rychle rozmohl co do počtu členů i politické moci, a <u>stal se</u> majitelem rozsáhlých nemovitostí v mnoha evropských zemích.
B09	Just <u>thinking</u> about it, she shuddered	<u>Stačilo, aby na to pomyslela</u> , a zachvěla se.
B12	<u>Using</u> his Visa card, he purchased two coach tickets to Lyon and handed them to Sophie.	<u>Použil</u> svou Visa kartu, koupil dvě jízdenky do Lyonu a podal je Sophii.
B13	<u>Drying</u> his wounds, he donned his ankle-length, hooded robe.	<u>Osušil si</u> rány a oblékl si kutnu s kápí.

#	original	translation
B14	The man tilted his head, <u>peering</u> down the barrel of his gun.	Muž <u>nachýlil</u> hlavu trochu ke straně, <u>přimhouřil</u> jedno oko a <u>druhým se</u> přes mušku své zbraně <u>díval</u> na správce.
B15	"Here's the million-dollar question," Teabing said, still <u>chuckling</u> .	"A ted' se dostáváme k otázce za milion dolarů," pokračoval Teabing a <u>pořád se pochechtával</u> .
B17	"Banks?" Sophie asked, <u>glancing</u> at Leigh.	"Bankami?" podivila se Sophie a <u>podívala se</u> na Leigha.
B19	Sophie was stopped on the stairs below him, <u>staring</u> up in confusion.	Sophie na schodišti pod ním znehybněla a <u>překvapeně</u> na něj <u>zírala</u> .
B20	On his hands and knees, the curator froze, <u>turning</u> his head slowly.	Správce strnul tak, jak byl - vkleče na všech čtyřech - a <u>pomalů</u> <u>otočil</u> hlavu.
B21	However, if the password they had entered were INCORRECT, Sophie's outward force on the ends would be transferred to a hinged lever inside, which would pivot downward into the cavity and apply pressure to the glass vial, eventually <u>shattering</u> it if she pulled too hard.	Pokud by ovšem dané heslo správné nebylo, síla, kterou Sophie působí na oba konce kryptexu, se přenesení do nitra válce a <u>nakonec rozbije</u> lahvičku s octem.
B22	Langdon took it and switched it on, <u>shining</u> the beam on the back of the key.	Langdon si ji vzal, rozsvítil a <u>namířil</u> na zadní stranu klíče.
B23	The great albino was struggling down a misty sidewalk, <u>shouting</u> for a hospital, his voice a heartrending wail of agony.	Velký albín se namáhavě pohyboval po mokré chodníku a <u>křičel</u> , že potřebuje do nemocnice. Jeho hlas zněl jako nervy drásající vytí zvířete v agonii.
B25	<u>Sensing</u> Rémy's presence, the monk in the back emerged from a prayer-like trance, his red eyes looking more curious than fearful.	Mnich <u>ucítil</u> Remyho přítomnost, probral se z modliteb a <u>podíval se</u> na něj. Jeho pohled byl spíš zvědavý než vystrašený.
B26	Looking up at the stone towers of Saint-Sulpice, Silas fought that familiar undertow... that force that often dragged his mind back in time, <u>locking</u> him once again in the prison that had been his world as a young man.	Když Silas vzhlédl ke kamenným věžím St. Sulpice, musel bojovat se známým spodním proudem své mysli... s tou mocí, která ho v myšlenkách často přenášela do minulosti, <u>uzamykala</u> jej znovu do vězení, které kdysi bylo jeho světem.
B29	"No," Langdon said, <u>feeling</u> a sudden intrigue.	"Ne," odpověděl Langdon a <u>náhle se</u> v něm <u>vzbudila</u> zvědavost.
B30	He lunged, <u>lashing</u> out with the candle stand like a club.	Napřáhl se a <u>ohnal se</u> železnou tyčí jako kyjem.
B33	COULD THAT BE IT? <u>Grabbing</u> the left side of the carved wood frame, she pulled it toward her.	Mohlo by to být ono? <u>Popadla</u> levou stranu rámu a <u>přitáhla ji</u> k sobě.
B34	Quickly, he laid down the gun on the bumper, lifted the box with two hands, and set it on the ground, immediately <u>grabbing</u> the gun again and aiming it back into the hold.	Rychle položil pistoli na podlahu nákladového prostoru, zvedl oběma rukama truhlici a postavil ji na zem, okamžitě znovu <u>popadl</u> zbraň a <u>namířil ji</u> na Langdona se Sophií.
B35	As the monk advanced, Langdon stepped back, <u>raising</u> the keystone high, looking fully prepared to hurl it at the floor.	Když se mnich dal do pohybu, Langdon ustoupil, <u>zvedl</u> základní kámen ještě výš nad hlavu a vypadal, že je odhodlaný jím mrštit o zem.

#	original	translation
B39	All the men in the audience leaned forward, <u>listening</u> intently.	Všichni mladí muži v auditoriu se napřímili a <u>zpozorněli</u> .
B41	<u>Taking</u> another swig from the flask, Rémy could feel the cognac warming his blood.	Remy <u>si</u> znovu <u>přihnul</u> a cítil, jak mu koňak zahřívá krev.
B43	<u>Putting</u> the SmartCar in reverse, she performed a composed three-point turn and reversed her direction.	<u>Zařadila</u> zpátečku a plynule se obrátila do protisměru.
B45	THE SIMPLICITY OF THE CIRCLE, Langdon thought, <u>admiring</u> the building for the first time.	Jednoduchost kruhu, pomyslel si Langdon a poprvé na vlastní oči <u>obdivoval</u> tuto stavbu.
B47	Designed by Da Vinci in 1495 as an outgrowth of his earliest anatomy and kinesiology studies, the internal mechanism of the robot knight possessed accurate joints and tendons, and was designed to sit up, wave its arms, and move its head via a flexible neck <u>while opening</u> and closing an anatomically correct jaw.	Da Vinci jej v roce 1495 navrhl v důsledku svých studií anatomie a kineziologie - vnitřní mechanismus tohoto rytíře obsahoval správně umístěné klouby a šlachy, takže se uměl posadit, zamávat pažemi, pohybovat hlavou a <u>také otvírat</u> a zavírat anatomicky přesně vytvarovanou čelist.
B48	"Sophie," the woman sobbed, <u>kissing</u> her forehead.	"Sophie," zašeptala ta žena a <u>políbila</u> ji na čelo.
B49	Langdon gave an uneasy nod, <u>speaking</u> his next words carefully.	Langdon nejistě přikývl a pečlivě <u>vážil</u> další slova.
B52	"This is NOBLE?" Langdon demanded, <u>eyeing</u> the gun.	"Tomuhle říkáte šlechtnost?" zeptal se Langdon a očima <u>sledoval</u> Teabingův revolver.
B53	"This way," Fache said, <u>turning</u> sharply right and setting out through a series of interconnected galleries.	"Tudy," vyzval ho Fache, <u>zabočil</u> ostře doprava a vydal se na pochod několika spojenými galeriemi.
B54	<u>Lifting</u> a weary arm, he mopped his eyes and saw the man holding him was Silas.	<u>Podánilo se</u> mu zvednout ruku, otřel si oči a spatřil, že muž, který jej nese, je Silas.
B55	"Thank you for having us," Sophie said, now <u>seeing</u> the man wore metal leg braces and used crutches. He was coming down one stair at a time.	"Děkuji, že jste nás přijal," pronesla Sophie a <u>dívala se</u> , jak Teabing s francouzskými holemi pomalu sestupuje po jednotlivých schodech dolů.
B57	He dropped his gun and radio, <u>raising</u> his hands over his head.	Okamžitě pistoli i vysílačku odložil a <u>zvedl</u> ruce nad hlavu.
B60	<u>Knowing</u> the guard would never actually shoot either of them, Sophie now turned her attention back to the matter at hand, scanning the entire area around one masterpiece in particular - another Da Vinci.	Sophie <u>věděla</u> , že by hlídač nikoho z nich ve skutečnosti nezastřelil, a <u>tak</u> obrátila pozornost zpátky k problému, který měla před sebou. Pečlivě prohlížela zdi a podlahu u jednoho konkrétního mistrovského díla - dalšího Leonarda.
B62	<u>Tiptoeing</u> across the creaky wood floor to his closet, Sophie peered on the shelves behind his clothing.	Po špičkách <u>přešla</u> přes vrzající prkennou podlahu a <u>otevřela</u> dědečkovu skříň.
B63	"It's pentameter!" Teabing blurted, <u>turning</u> to Langdon.	"Je to pentametr!" vykřikl Teabing a <u>otočil se</u> k Langdonovi.
B64	Sophie's grandmother emerged, <u>her silver hair shimmering</u> in the night.	Z domku vyšla Sophiina babička a <u>její stříbrné vlasy se leskly</u> .

#	original	translation
B65	Fache drew a seething inhalation, clearly <u>preparing</u> to launch into a reprimand.	Ve Fachovi na první pohled kypěla krev <u>a</u> zjevně <u>se chystal</u> agentku Neveuovou pořádně sjet.
B66	<u>Knowing</u> he was alone in the great church, Silas untied his cloak and slipped it off his body.	<u>Věděl</u> , že je ve velké katedrále sám, <u>a tak</u> si roucho svlékl.
B67	Too ashamed and stunned to endure her grandfather's pained attempts to explain, Sophie immediately moved out on her own, <u>taking</u> money she had saved, and getting a small flat with some roommates.	Příliš zahanbená a šokovaná na to, aby vydržela dědečkovy bolestné pokusy o vysvětlení, odstěhovala se Sophie okamžitě z domu, <u>vybrala</u> své úspory a našla si malý byt, který sdílela s několika spolubydlicími.
G01	He looked straight ahead through thick sunglasses, thoroughly <u>ignoring</u> me, and making me wonder for a second why, exactly, I was inspecting him.	Hodně tmavými slunečními brýlemi se díval přímo před sebe <u>a</u> dokonale mě <u>přehlížel</u> . Až mi na okamžik prolétlo hlavou, proč si ho vlastně já tak zkoumavě prohlížím.
G03	I walked away, <u>wrestling</u> my overcoat off my shoulders, forgetting the man with the rubber boots.	<u>Stáhl jsem</u> si plášť z ramen <u>a</u> šel dál. Muže v holínách jsem dokonale pustil z hlavy.
G05	Madam Devier was standing behind her desk, petrified, <u>staring</u> into the barrel of an awfully long handgun held by our pal the street bum.	Madam Devierová stála za svým stolem jako zkamenělá <u>a zírala</u> do hlavně nepříjemně dlouhé brokovnice, kterou držel náš kamarád bezdomovec.
G08	<u>Turning</u> the gun back to me, he nodded, and I complied, entering the conference room behind Rafter.	Chlápek v holínách <u>otočil</u> pušku zpátky ke mně, pokývl hlavou, já mu vyhověl <u>a</u> vešel jsem do konferenční místnosti za Rafterem.
G09	Turning the gun back to me, he nodded, and I complied, <u>entering</u> the conference room behind Rafter.	Chlápek v holínách otočil pušku zpátky ke mně, pokývl hlavou, já mu vyhověl <u>a vešel jsem</u> do konferenční místnosti za Rafterem.
G10	"Up against the wall," he said, <u>using</u> the gun as a very effective prop.	"Ke zdi," přikázal chlapík <u>a použil</u> zbraň jako velice účinný argument.
G13	He wanted them bound tightly, and I made a show of practically drawing blood <u>while leaving</u> as much slack as possible.	Chtěl, abych provaz utáhl co nejpevněji, a tak jsem předváděl, jak se nylon zařezává téměř až do krve, <u>a přitom jsem se snažil</u> , aby byla pouta co nejvolnější.
G14	I went about this methodically, <u>scanning</u> the parking lot below as if being seen might somehow save me.	Vykonal jsem jeho příkaz hezky pomalu a svědomitě <u>a přitom jsem si</u> zkoumavě <u>prohlížel</u> parkoviště dole pod námi, jako bych tam mohl zahlédnout někoho, kdo mě zachrání.
G15	<u>Taking</u> my cue from the pistol, I assumed a standing position next to the conference table, a few feet from Mister, who had developed the irritating habit of playing absentmindedly with the wires coiled against his chest.	<u>Poslechl jsem</u> výzvu, kterou mi tlumočila hlaveň pušky, a zaujal jsem postavení vedle konferenčního stolu, jen kousek od Pána, který si mezitím osvojil znervózňující zvyk mimoděk si pohrávat s dráty, které měl omotané kolem pasu.
G16	"What did you eat for lunch?" Mister asked me, <u>his voice breaking</u> the silence.	"Cos měl k obědu?" zeptal se mě Pán <u>a jeho hlas přerušil</u> mlčení.
G17	"Collect all the wallets, money, watches, jewelry," he said, <u>waving</u> the gun again.	"Posbírej všechny portmonky, prachy, hodinky a šperky," přikázal <u>a znovu mávl</u> puškou.

#	original	translation
G20	"I didn't complain," I said, <u>lying</u> like most of my countrymen.	"Nic jsem nenamítal," prohlásil jsem a <u>lhal</u> přitom, jako většina mých spoluobčanů.
G21	Only Rafter glared down the table, <u>thinking</u> the thoughts all of us had when we stepped over the Misterys of D. C.: ...	Jen Rafter se díval do stolu a nepochybně <u>myslel</u> na to, co každého z nás napadne, kdykoliv narazíme na tyhle Pány Washingtonu: ...
G22	"One point one million," I said, <u>leaving</u> another two hundred thousand on the table.	"Jedna celá jedna milionu," odpověděl jsem a <u>nechal</u> dalších dvě stě tisíc spadnout pod stůl.
G23	It was immediately obvious that we rich folks had made lots of money <u>while handing</u> over precious little of it.	Na první pohled bylo totiž jasné, že jsme banda pěkně zazobaných chlápků, kteří vydělávají spoustu peněz, <u>ale</u> moc jich z ruky <u>nepustí</u> .
G24	He jumped to his feet, <u>startling</u> us, the red sticks fully visible under the silver duct tape.	Pán vyskočil a <u>vylekal</u> nás. Červené patrony byly pod stříbrnou lepicí páskou jasně vidět.
G25	"None," Colburn said, <u>closing</u> his eyes tightly, ready to cry.	"Nic," odpověděl Colburn, pevně <u>zavřel</u> oči a neměl daleko k pláči.
G26	Nuzzo had identical responses, and Mister moved down the line, <u>pointing</u> , asking the same questions, getting the same answers.	Nuzzo pro něj měl stejné odpovědi, a tak šel Pán dál od jednoho k druhému, pokaždé <u>namířil</u> pušku, každému položil stejnou trojici otázek a od každého se mu dostalo stejných odpovědí.
G28	<u>Using</u> the waiter as a shield, he barely curled his right index finger and pointed to his chest.	<u>Využil</u> číšníka jako štítu, nepatrně ohnul ukazováček na pravé ruce a ukázal si na hrud'.
G29	Those little bodies <u>lying</u> up there in boxes had never known so much love.	Vždyť ta droboučká tělíčka tam <u>leží</u> v bednách a nikdy se už nedozví, že je všichni měli tolik rádi.
G31	His had been a nasty split, <u>with both parties fighting</u> for custody of the kids.	Jeho rozvod byl pěkně nechutný a <u>obě strany</u> zuřivě <u>bojovaly</u> o to, komu případně péče o děti.
G32	<u>With Mordecai doing</u> the driving and talking, and with me in the back, we rode through the slick streets into Northeast.	<u>Mordecai se postaral</u> o řízení a konverzaci, já se posadil dozadu a společně jsme vyrazili po kluzkých ulicích na severovýchod.
G33	The D. C. police were out in force cleaning the streets, <u>shoveling</u> the street people into cars and vans and taking them away.	Washingtonská policie nastoupila v plné síle a vyklízela ulice, <u>cpala</u> bezdomovce do aut a dodávek a odvážela je pryč.
G34	Peeler returned to the car, <u>slamming</u> the door and shaking the water off his shoulders.	Peeler se vrátil do auta, <u>zabouchl</u> za sebou dveře, smetl si z ramen vodu a prohodil: ...
G39	"It's okay," she said softly, <u>touching</u> my shoulder.	"To nic," řekla tiše a <u>vzala</u> mě za rameno.
G41	You spend years on the streets, soaked with booze, stoned on crack, sleeping in the cold, <u>getting kicked</u> around by cops and punks, it makes you crazy.	Když trávíte roky na ulici, nacucaný chlastem a poražený drogou, spíte v mrazu a každou chvíli vás <u>zkopou</u> poldové nebo nějaký jiný hajzlové, začne vám to lít na mozek.
G43	"I'm sorry," he said, looking at me and almost <u>hitting</u> a jaywalker.	"To je mi líto," řekl, podíval se na mě a <u>málem srazil</u> neukázněně přebíhajícího chodce.

#	original	translation
G44	We would leave the restaurant late, and he would be up at four <u>fiddling</u> with his laptop, shaking off the slight hangover as just another part of the day.	Z restaurace odejdeme pozdě v noci a on se ve čtyři probere, <u>zasedne</u> k přenosnému počítači a setřese ze sebe lehkou kocovinu, jako to dělá denně.
G45	His voice ebbed and flowed, rising with indignation, <u>falling</u> with shame and guilt.	Hlas se mu zvedal a klesal, sílil v rozhořčení a <u>slábl</u> , když šlo o hanbu a vinu.
G46	<u>Working</u> from the classifieds, I began calling Realtors and apartment locating services.	<u>Prošel jsem</u> inzeráty a obvolal zprostředkovatelské kanceláře vyhledávající realitní agenty, byty a vůbec všechno, na co si člověk vzpomene.
G47	Mordecai and I sat on the edge of a table in the darkened kitchen, <u>sipping</u> coffee and looking through the large serving window at the huddled masses.	Seděli jsme s Mordecaiem na konci stolu ve ztemnělé kuchyni, <u>usrkávali</u> kávu a velkým oknem na vydávání jídel jsme pozorovali davы zkroucených lidí.
G48	So I limped around my room for an eternity, testing my wounded body parts, watching the morning newsbabble, <u>hoping</u> no one I knew would suddenly enter and see me in my yellow paisley gown.	A tak jsem se donekonečna belhal po pokoji, protahoval jednotlivé části potlučeného těla, sledoval užvaněné ranní zpravodajství a <u>doufal</u> , že nevstoupí nikdo, koho bych znal, a neuvidí mě ve žluté kašmírové noční košili.
G51	I made a quick exit, and as I stepped into the splendid marble foyer of Drake & Sweeney I glanced over my shoulder just long enough to see him standing in the elevator, looking at nothing, still <u>ignoring</u> me.	Rychle jsem vystoupil, a sotva jsem se ocitl v honosné, mramorem obkládané vstupní hale firmy Drake & Sweeney, ohlédl jsem se přes rameno. Letmý pohled mi stačil, abych se ujistil, že můj společník dál stojí ve výtahu, nepřítomně hledí do dálky a <u>stále mě ignoruje</u> .
G52	<u>Figuring</u> I could run faster down the stairs than up them, I bounded down, even though my office was two floors above.	<u>Spočítal jsem si</u> , že ze schodů poběžím rychleji než do schodů, a vyrazil jsem dolů, přestože moje kancelář byla o dvě patra výš.
G53	I walked several blocks and stopped at a busy corner. <u>Leaning</u> on a building, I dialed Barry Nuzzo's number.	Vydal jsem se pěšky o pár ulic dál a zastavil se na rušné křižovatce. <u>Opřel jsem se o zeď</u> baráku a vytočil číslo Barryho Nuzza.
G54	I raced to the sidewalk, sliding in the snow <u>but staying</u> on my feet, then down P Street to Wisconsin, over to Thirty-fourth to a newsstand.	Vyrazil jsem na chodník, podjely mi nohy, <u>ale vyrovnal jsem to</u> , řítil jsem se po P Street k Wisconsinské a na Třicátou čtvrtou ulici k trafice.
G57	"The Burton story is big and getting bigger," he said, <u>sipping</u> a draft beer.	"Tak případ Burtonové se pěkně rozjíždí a bude čím dál tím zajímavější," poznamenala spokojeně Mordecai a <u>napil se</u> točeného piva.
G59	"Over there," I said, <u>pointing</u> .	"Tamhle," vyhrkl jsem a <u>ukázal</u> tím směrem.
G60	"I'm not running anymore," he said, <u>looking</u> away.	"Nikam neutíkám," ohradil se a <u>uhnul</u> pohledem.
G61	We bounced through it, <u>getting</u> airborne for what seemed to be ten seconds, then landing very hard.	Vletěli jsme do ní, <u>ocitli se</u> ve vzduchu na dobu, která podle všeho čítala tak deset vteřin, a pak absolvovali velmi tvrdé přistání.
G62	"Uh, sure," I said, <u>trying</u> to breathe again.	"Jo, jasně," odpověděl jsem a <u>snažil se</u> znovu dýchat.
G63	"Well, call me," she said, <u>opening</u> her door.	"Tak mi zavolej," prohlásila a <u>otevřela</u> dveře.
G64	I turned off the lights, <u>listening</u> to their talk.	Zhasl jsem světlo a <u>naslouchal</u> jejich hovor.

#	original	translation
G65	And for the first block or two I felt odd, walking in a mass of people, <u>holding</u> a stick with a placard beating the face of a twenty-two-year-old black mother who bore four illegitimate children.	A tak jsem si první jeden či dva bloky připadal v průvodu divně. Kráčet jsem s masou lidí a <u>držel jsem</u> tyč, na jejímž konci byl plakát s fotografií dvaadvacetileté černošské matky, která porodila čtyři nemanželské děti.
G68	I could envision a cake with a punch bowl next to it, probably in a conference room, on the table, with fifty people standing around it proposing toasts and <u>making</u> short speeches about how wonderful I was.	Uměl jsem si představit mísu s punčem a hned vedle dort, to všechno v zasedací místnosti, kde stojí okolo dobře padesát lidí, pronášejí přípitky a <u>vykládají</u> takové ty řeči, jak jsem skvělý.
G69	We started in my office; all six cops, me, and Mordecai crammed into the tiny room, <u>working</u> hard at avoiding contact.	Začali jsme v mé kanceláři. Do malé místnosti se nacpalo všech šest policistů, Mordecai a já a marně <u>jsem se snažil</u> , abychom se jeden druhého nedotýkali.
I02	When she wrote about abortion, <u>not having had</u> an abortion, she got angry letters from people who had had abortions; ...	Když psala o potratu a sama potrat <u>neměla</u> , dostávala rozhněvané dopisy od žen, které potrat měly.
I03	I have got to get better help, Penny Pierce was thinking to herself as she went on, visually <u>underestimating</u> Eddie.	Budu si muset sehnat lepší pomocnici, pomyslela si a <u>dál hodnotila</u> chlapce pohledem.
I06	Her mind had been dwelling on missing persons, <u>not expecting</u> to count him among them.	Po celou dobu myslela na pohřešované osoby a <u>nečekala</u> , že k nim bude počítat i jeho.
I12	Thus Ruth Cole sat on the plane from Amsterdam to New York, <u>composing</u> opening sentences in spite of herself.	Rút Coleová tudíž seděla v letadle z Amsterdamu do New Yorku a <u>proti své vůli</u> dále <u>sestavovala</u> úvodní věty.
I16	There were no women or girls worth looking at on the upper deck, Eddie thought; his observation was apparently not shared by the clam-truck driver, who proceeded to roam the ferry, <u>looking</u> intently at all the women and girls.	Pomyslel si, že na horní palubě není jediná žena nebo dívka, které by stály za podívání. Řidič nákladáku, který pokračoval v obhlídce trajektu a <u>dychtivě</u> si všechny ženy a dívky <u>prohlížel</u> , jeho náhled zjevně nesdílel.
I18	The imaginary monster was crawling between the walls; there it was, with its no arms and no legs, pulling itself along with its teeth, <u>sliding</u> forward on its fur.	Ve zdi lezlo imaginární monstrum, nemělo ruce ani nohy, přitahovalo se zuby a <u>pohybovalo</u> kupředu po srsti.
I19	... the Lincoln clipped the bottom of the gardener's ladder, <u>leaving</u> the distraught man clinging to the top of the high hedge.	Lincoln podsekl spodní konec žebříku a rozrušený zahradník <u>zůstal</u> viset na vrcholu vysokého živého plotu.
I21	She drew her knees up to her breasts, hugging herself, as if she were cold, and <u>gazing</u> at the man with a coquettish smile.	Přitáhla si kolena k ňadrům a objala je, jako kdyby jí byla zima, a s koketním úsměvem muže upřeně <u>pozorovala</u> .
I22	Ruth and Wim were navigating the narrow hall <u>with the naked woman following</u> them - she was asking them if she was too fat, if that was what was wrong - when the smaller, older Thai prostitute, the woman who'd been grinning down at them, blocked their exit from the hall.	Rút s Wimem odcházeli úzkou chodbou a <u>nahá žena se rozběhla</u> za nimi a vyptávala se, jestli je moc tlustá, jestli se jim to proto nelíbí. Menší, starší thajská prostitutka, která se předtím na ně od stropu zubila, jim zastoupila východ.

#	original	translation
I24	She beat him 15-1 in their last game, <u>his only point coming</u> when she tried (against her better judgment) a reverse corner that hit the tin.	V poslední hře ho porazila 15:1 <u>a jediný bod se mu podařil</u> , když se pokusila (proti vlastnímu přesvědčení) zahrát do opačného rohu a zasáhla tin.
I26	The small man seemed to shiver a little when he thought of the hedge where he'd hung <u>dying</u> in the exhaust fumes.	Zdalo se, že při pomyšlení na živý plot, v němž visel <u>a dusil se</u> výfukovými plyny, se malý mužik trochu otrásl.
I29	'I didn't know she was married,' Harry said, <u>looking</u> more closely at Ruth's jacket photo.	"Nevěděl jsem, že je vdaná," podívil se Harry <u>a podíval se</u> lépe na Rútinu fotografii na obálce.
I34	She crossed her ankles, <u>supporting</u> her feet by the spikes of her heels, and leaned forward with her hands on her thighs; ...	Zkřížila kotníky přes sebe, nohama <u>se vzepřela</u> o špičky podpatků a s rukama v bok se nahnula trochu dopředu.
I36	That afternoon, after she hit her soft shots, she sat in the shallow end of the pool, icing her shoulder and <u>reading</u> The Life of Graham Greene.	Když si odpoledne procvičila měkké údery, usadila se na mělkém konci bazénu, chladila si rameno ledem <u>a četla</u> Život Grahama Greena.
I37	Her father, still <u>standing</u> naked on the deck, had remarked to Scott: ...	Otec <u>zůstal stát</u> nahý u bazénu a prohodil ke Scottovi: ...
I38	And when I was alone, just <u>sipping</u> coffee at my table, the young German novelist looked at me whenever I coughed - as if I had a feather caught in my throat.	A když jsem pak zůstala u stolu sama <u>a popíje la</u> kávu, kdykoli jsem zakašlala, mladý německý spisovatel se na mě zadíval, jako by mi v krku uvízlo pírko.
I39	... if Eddie had known how many members were already lined up under the awning <u>waiting</u> in turn for a cab, he would long ago have left the tap room and taken his place at the rear of the line.	Kdyby Eddie věděl, kolik členů klubu je už seřazených pod markýzou <u>a čeká</u> na taxík, už dávno by výčep opustil a zaujal místo na konci fronty.
I40	Ruth lay in bed, <u>listening</u> to Scott flushing the condom down the toilet in the master bathroom.	Ležela v posteli <u>a poslouchala</u> , jak Scott v koupelně pána domu splachuje do záchodu kondom.
I41	Ruth Cole did as she was told, once more <u>passing</u> those photographs - more ghostly-seeming now than her mother's fallen ghost of a lover.	Rút Coleová poslechla <u>a znovu prošla</u> okolo fotografií, které nyní vypadaly daleko víc jako duchové než matčín milenec.
I42	Thus, when the Lincoln ran out of gas and Mrs Vaughn got out of the car - first <u>slamming</u> the door shut and then opening it again, for she'd forgotten to turn off the infernal radio - she first heard Eduardo's weakened cries for help and her heart was instantly hardened against him.	Proto když došel benzin a paní Vaughanová vystoupila (nejdřív <u>zabouchla</u> dveře a pak je zase otevřela, protože zapomněla vypnout to pekelné rádio) a zaslechla Eduardovo zesláblé volání o pomoc, okamžitě se proti němu v srdci zatvrdila.
I45	<u>Not knowing</u> if the woman saw him standing in the darkness of his porch - and being, therefore, as careful as he could be not to startle her - Eddie said: ...	<u>Nebyl si jistý</u> , zda ho žena ve tmě verandy viděla, <u>a tak</u> se opatrně, aby ji nevylekal, nabídl: ...
I49	<u>Using</u> one of the pens, Harry wrote a note, which he put in the middle drawer before closing it.	<u>Použil</u> jednu z propisovaček, napsal vzkaz a než prostřední zásuvku zavřel, vzkaz do ní vložil.

#	original	translation
I53	It was a raw, blustery day <u>with a wet wind blowing</u> from the ocean; ...	Byl sychravý, bouřlivý den <u>a</u> od oceánu <u>vál mokrý vítr</u> .
I54	With her eyes closed, <u>rinsing</u> off the shampoo, she guessed that he had to be looking at her breasts.	<u>Smývala si</u> šampon a i se zavřenýma očima poznala, že se jí dívá na prsa.
I56	There were no more than twenty or thirty murders in Amsterdam a year, most of them not domestic, but whenever the police dragged one of the canals (<u>looking</u> for a body), they found hundreds of bicycles.	V Amsterdamu docházelo každý rok k nějakým dvaceti nebo třiceti vraždám. Většina z nich se neodehrála doma. Kdykoli policie prohledávala některý z kanálů <u>a hledala</u> tělo, našly se stovky kol.
I62	Dot O'Hare herself had said that it would be an act of in-decency <u>bordering</u> on child abuse to read that book aloud to any child.	Dot O'Hareová o knize prohlásila, že číst ji nějakému dítěti nahlas je nemravné <u>a hraničí</u> to s poškozováním.
I63	Harry saw a sign that said the automatic door was out of order, but the door opened nonetheless, <u>admitting</u> him into the New World, where Ruth was waiting for him.	Harry zahlédl cedulku, že automatické dveře jsou mimo provoz, ale přesto se otevřely <u>a vpustily</u> ho do Nového světa, kde na něho čekala Rút.
I65	Now Ruth stretched out in her bath, <u>hoping</u> that Harry had dressed himself and Graham properly for their walk on the beach in the rain.	Teď se protahovala ve vaně <u>a doufala</u> , že se Harry s Grahamem na procházku po pláži v dešti pořádně oblékli.
I70	Ruth recalled showing Hannah how to do that on one of the weekends they'd spent together at Ruth's house in Vermont - <u>complaining</u> about bad boyfriends, as Ruth now remembered it.	Rút si vzpomněla, že jí kdysi ukazovala, jak se to dělá. Trávily spolu tehdy víkend v Rútině domě ve Vermontu - <u>a stěžovaly si</u> na špatné milence, jak se teď upamatovala.

Divergent Correspondences: Subordinate Clauses

#	original	translation
B06	"Lift the lid," Sophie whispered, <u>standing</u> over him, beside Langdon.	"Otevřete to," zašeptala Sophie, <u>kteřá</u> spolu s Langdonem <u>stála</u> nad ním.
B24	Sophie's voice caught, and Langdon heard a sudden melancholy there, a painful past, <u>simmering</u> just below the surface.	Sophii se zadrhl hlas a Langdon v něm najednou uslyšel melancholii a bolestnou vzpomínku, <u>kteřá se drala</u> na povrch.
B28	"What happened?" Langdon demanded, <u>joining</u> Sophie on the curb as the taxi disappeared.	"Co se stalo?" zeptal se Langdon, <u>když se připojil</u> k Sophii.
B32	A prim and elegant butler stood before them, <u>making</u> final adjustments on the white tie and tuxedo he had apparently just donned.	Před nimi stál formálně a elegantně oblečený sluha, <u>který si právě upravoval</u> bílou vázanku a bylo na něm vidět, že se právě oblékl.
B36	"Your grandfather," Langdon said, <u>hurrying</u> behind her, "when he told you about the pentacle, did he mention goddess worship or any resentment of the Catholic Church?"	"Zmínil se váš dědeček," promluvil Langdon, <u>který spěchal</u> za ní, "když vám vyprávěl o pentagramu, o uctívání bohyní nebo o odporu katolické církve?"
B37	She apparently believed the curator had left her a cryptic postscript <u>telling</u> her to find Langdon.	Zjevně věřila tomu, že správce po sobě zanechal doušku, <u>v níž po ní chce</u> , aby ho našla.

#	original	translation
B44	Langdon wondered again if he might have been better off taking his chances <u>letting</u> Fache arrest him at the Louvre.	Langdon znovu zapřemítal o tom, jestli by na tom nebyl lépe, <u>kdyby se nechal</u> hned v Louvru zatknout.
B51	He propped himself fully on his crutches, gracelessly <u>keeping</u> the gun aimed at Sophie, and removed the keystone from his pocket.	Narovnal se do plné výše, <u>aniž by přestal mřít</u> na Sophii, a vytáhl z kapsy základní kámen.
B59	"The police are blocking the street," André Vernet said, <u>walking</u> into the waiting room.	"Policie zablokovala ulici," řekl André Vernet, <u>jakmile vstoupil</u> do místnosti.
B61	Fache waved off warden Grouard and led Collet to a nearby alcove, <u>addressing</u> him in hushed tones.	Fache mávnutím ruky propustil Grouarda a odvedl Colleta kousek stranou, <u>kde se ho</u> tlumeně <u>zeptal</u> .
B69	"Leigh?" Sophie repeated, clearly <u>not</u> <u>appreciating</u> being left out of the discussion.	"Leighu?" zopakovala Sophie, <u> které se</u> vůbec <u>nelíbilo</u> , že ji vynechávají z diskuse.
G07	The toughest was a scrappy little torpedo named Rafter, and as he yanked open the door <u>saying</u> "What the hell?" the barrel swung from me to him, and the man with the rubber boots had exactly what he wanted.	Nejdrsnější z nich byl Rafter, takové malé nezvladatelné torpédo. Ten otevřel dveře, a <u>jak vyštěkl</u> "Co se to tu sakra děje?", hlaveň se zhoupala směrem k němu a chlápek v holínách měl přesně to, co chtěl.
G12	"What would you like us to call you?" I asked, <u>sensing</u> that I was about to become the leader of the hostages.	"Jak chcete, abychom vám říkali?" zeptal jsem se, <u>protože jsem cítil</u> , že se ze mě stává mluvčí zajatců.
G19	I could just see them out there in the parking lot, <u>most of them sitting</u> in their cars to keep warm, chatting away on cell phones, billing somebody.	Dokázal jsem si živě představit, <u>jak</u> venku na parkovišti <u>většina z nich sedí</u> v autech, aby se zahřáli, povídají si mobilními telefony a jistě to někomu účtují.
G27	I pictured Terrence in his warm room, well fed, well dressed, safe, clean, sober, <u>doing</u> his homework under the strict supervision of Mr. and Mrs. Rowland, who had grown to love him almost as much as Ruby did.	Představoval jsem si Terrence, <u>jak</u> sedí ve svém vytopeném pokojíku, je dobře živý, slušně oblečený, v bezpečí, čistý, střizlivý a pod přísným dohledem pána a paní Rowlandových si pečlivě <u>píše</u> domácí úkoly. Rowlandovi si ho mezitím jistě zamilovali skoro stejně jako Ruby.
G30	She was enjoying herself immensely, <u>having taken</u> a long shower, eaten a pound of candy, and watched 'IXr nonstop.	Měla se nadmíru dobře, pořádně <u>se vysprchovala</u> , snědla kopu cukroví a vytrvale se dívala na televizi.
G49	Because I couldn't practice law for the next nine months, the clinic had decided that I should implement a new pro bono volunteer program <u>using</u> attorneys from the big firms in town.	Jelikož nemůžu nejbližších devět měsíců provozovat advokátní praxi, poradna se rozhodla, že bych měl připravit nový program pro dobrovolníky, <u>do něhož zapojím</u> právníky z velkých firem.
G55	The first one for me was a young man <u>facing</u> a drug charge.	První, kdo na mě vyšel, byl jakýsi mladík, <u>kterého čekal</u> soud za přechovávání drog.
G66	Jacqueline Hume had first made a ton of money <u>cleaning out</u> wayward doctors, then had created a fierce reputation by destroying a couple of philandering senators.	Jacqueline Humeová nejdřív vydělala řůru peněz <u>tím, že oškubala</u> nějaké přelétavé doktory, a pak si vybudovala pověst řízné právničky <u>tím, že zničila</u> párek flirtujících senátorů.

#	original	translation
G67	He'd settled it for one hundred thousand dollars, <u>netting</u> the clinic a grand total of ten thousand dollars, from which he purchased new phones and word processors.	Mordecai požadoval odškodné sto tisíc dolarů, <u>takže vydělal</u> poradně rovných deset tisíc, za něž nakoupil nové telefony a počítače.
G70	You got a wealthy lawyer from a wealthy firm deliberately allowing a wrongful eviction to occur, and as a direct result my clients got tossed into the streets where they died <u>trying</u> to stay warm.	Šlo o bohatého právníka z bohaté firmy, který záměrně dovolil, aby proběhlo protiprávní vystěhovávání. Následkem jeho přístupu se moji klienti ocitli na ulici, kde zemřeli, <u>protože se snažili</u> zahřát.
I05	Looking over the list of my fellow panelists - other authors, <u>all promoting</u> their books at the book fair - there is an atrocious American male of the Unbearable Intellectual species.	Prohlížím seznam svých spoludiskutérů - dalších autorů, <u>kteří všichni</u> na knižním veletrhu <u>propagují</u> své knihy. Je tu odporný Američan nesnesitelně intelektuálního typu.
I07	For seven, almost eight years - <u>lasting</u> through college but not enduring through graduate school - Eddie O'Hare would be unimpressively yet sincerely religious, because he believed that God or some heavenly power had to have kept Ted from seeing the Chevy, which was parked diagonally across from the bookstore the entire time that Eddie and Ruth had been negotiating for the photograph in Penny Pierce's frame shop.	Sedm či téměř osm let - <u>kdy studoval</u> na střední škole a ještě po část vysoké - bude Eddie nevýrazně a přece upřímně věřící, protože uvěřil, že Bůh, nebo nějaká nebeská síla zabránila Tedovi zahlédnout chevrolet zaparkovaný šikmo přes ulici naproti knihkupectví po celou dobu, kdy Eddie a Rút jednali o fotografii v rámařském obchodě Penny Pierceové.
I10	She kept scowling at the photograph, <u>daring</u> it to change.	Zamračila se na fotografii, <u>jako kdyby jí chtěla zakázat</u> , aby se změnila.
I15	'It's Scott, Scott Saunders,' he reminded her, <u>shaking</u> her hand.	"Jsem Scott, Scott Saunders," připomněl, <u>když jí potřásl</u> rukou.
I17	<u>Not knowing</u> that Allan had instructed Eddie to read a Yeats poem at Allan's own memorial service, Harry chose a Yeats poem for his and Ruth's wedding.	<u>Jelikož nevěděl</u> , že Allan požádal Eddieho, aby na jeho pohřbu přečetl báseň od Yeatse, vybral pro svou a Rútinu svatbu báseň od stejného autora.
I20	Yet, in truth, she didn't like talking to her readers, either, as had been painfully apparent to anyone <u>observing</u> her agitation during the disastrous Q and A at the Y.	Přesto po pravdě řečeno se čtenáři také nerozmlouvala ráda, jak bylo bolestně zřejmé každému, <u>kdo viděl</u> je její rozrušení během nešťastných dotazů a odpovědí v Ypsilonce.
I23	Actually, there had been no town ordinance <u>restricting</u> Ted from raising the roof; ...	Ve skutečnosti neexistovalo žádné městské nařízení, <u>které by</u> mu střechu zvednout <u>zakazovalo</u> , ale jen tak ušetřil značnou částku peněz.
I25	The only doll Ruth was attached to was a doll <u>missing</u> a head.	Jedinou panenkou, kterou měla ráda, byla panenka, <u>jíž chyběla</u> hlava.
I51	They traveled from room to room, from picture to picture, until Eddie realized why Ruth had been so agitated by the little scraps of notepaper <u>covering</u> Thomas's and Timothy's bare feet.	Šli z pokoje do pokoje, od obrázku k obrázku, až si uvědomil, proč vlastně Rút tak rozrušily malé proužky papíru, <u>kterými zakryl</u> Thomasovy a Timothyho bosé nohy.

#	original	translation
I55	When Margaret McDermid had been in her forties, she'd been deeply committed to volunteer counseling of young American men <u>coming</u> to Canada to escape the Vietnam War.	Když bylo Margaretě McDermidové přes čtyřicet, velmi se věnovala dobrovolné pomoci mladým Američanům, <u>kteří uprchli</u> do Kanady, aby unikli povolání do Vietnamu.
I66	And so Ruth lay awake in the house <u>with something crawling</u> between the walls, something bigger than a mouse, and she listened to the only sound that would ever succeed in comforting her - at the same time that it made her melancholic.	A tak Rút ležela beze spánku v domě, kde něco harašilo ve zdi, něco většího než myš, a naslouchala jedinému zvuku, kterému se podařilo ji vždy utěšit - a současně v ní vzbudit melancholii.
I68	'Minty' O'Hare, as the senior O'Hare was known to countless Exeter students, was addicted to breath mints, which he lovingly sucked <u>while reading</u> aloud in class; he was inordinately fond of reciting his favorite passages from the books he'd assigned.	"Mentolka" O'Hare, jak četní studenti Exeteru O'Hareovi seniorovi přezdívali, miloval mentolové pastilky, které s láskou cucal, <u>když</u> na hodinách studentům hlasitě <u>předčítal</u> .

Divergent Correspondences: Other Finite Clauses

#	original	translation
B11	Since then, the stream of self-important historians and art buffs <u>arriving</u> at his door had seemed never-ending.	Od toho okamžiku <u>se</u> před jeho dveřmi <u>objevoval</u> zdánlivě nekonečný proud nadutých historiků a milovníků umění.
B16	<u>Loosening</u> his bow tie, Rémy unbuttoned his high, starched, wing-tipped collar and felt as if he could breathe for the first time in years.	Remy <u>si uvolnil</u> vysoký škrobený límeček a bylo mu, jako kdyby se poprvé po mnoha letech mohl nerušeně nadýchat čerstvého vzduchu.
B56	Collet was downstairs in seconds, running toward the back door, <u>grabbing</u> one of his agents on the way.	Collet byl vmžiku dole a běžel k zadním dveřím. Po cestě <u>popadl</u> jednoho agenta.
B58	When the doors burst open, Bezu Fache entered like a bull into a ring, his feral eyes <u>scanning</u> , finding his target - Leigh Teabing - helpless on the floor.	Pak se rozletěly dveře a dovnitř vpadl Bezu Fache jako býk do arény. Jeho ocelové oči rychle <u>přejele</u> celou místnost a okamžitě zakotvily na Leighu Teabingovi, ležícím bezmocně na podlaze.
G02	He looked straight ahead through thick sunglasses, thoroughly ignoring me, and <u>making</u> me wonder for a second why, exactly, I was inspecting him.	Hodně tmavými slunečními brýlemi se díval přímo před sebe a dokonale mě přehlížel. <u>Až</u> <u>mi</u> na okamžik <u>prolétlo</u> hlavou, proč si ho vlastně já tak zkoumavě prohlížím.
G04	I walked away, wrestling my overcoat off my shoulders, <u>forgetting</u> the man with the rubber boots.	Stáhl jsem si plášť z ramen a šel dál. Muže v holínách jsem dokonale <u>pustil</u> z hlavy.
G06	And then the voices disappeared into the background, <u>growing</u> fainter and fainter as my colleagues hit the back door.	Načež se hlasy <u>začaly</u> vzdalovat a <u>slábnout</u> , a když za sebou moji drazí kolegové zabouchli zadní dveře, ztichly hlasy docela.
G37	I had never had so much fun <u>spending</u> two hundred dollars.	Ještě nikdy <u>jsem neutratil</u> dvě stě dolarů s takovou radostí.

#	original	translation
G40	Three of the four elevators were open, <u>waiting</u> , and I had a choice.	Tři ze čtyř výtahů <u>čekaly</u> dole otevřené, takže jsem si mohl vybrat.
G56	The other seven scrambled off the table like scalded dogs, all yelling and digging toward the door, <u>half of them dragging</u> the other half.	Zbývajících sedm kolegů s rykem seskočilo ze stolu, jako když někdo opaří smečku psů, a se stejným řevem se řítily ke dveřím. <u>Jedna polovina vláčela</u> druhou za sebou.
I11	It was exactly how Ruth had crossed that bathroom floor as a child, <u>padding</u> on her way to her mother's bed... no, to her father's bed, more often, except for that memorable night when she'd surprised her mother with Eddie.	Přesně tak kdysi jako dítě <u>chodívala</u> přes koupe lnu do matčiny postele. . . ne - častěji do otcovy postele, kromě onoho památného dne, kdy matku překvapila s Eddiem.
I30	Now here was the overweight Harriet with an umlaut, with her leaking breasts, <u>standing</u> beside a very trim and fit Ruth Cole - a very attractive older woman, who (Wim's wretched wife believed) was her husband's former lover!	A teď tu obtloustlá Harriët s přehlasovaným e a s tekoucími prsy <u>stojí</u> vedle upravené a štíhlé Rút Coleové - velice přitažlivé starší ženy, která je (jak ubohá manželka věřila) bývalou manželovou milenkou!
I35	She swam to the shallow end, and he followed - still <u>holding</u> the wineglass.	Plavala k mělkému konci a Scott ji následoval. Stále <u>držel</u> skleničku v ruce.
I46	'It was as a reader, too,' Harry continued, <u>ignoring</u> her question.	"Také jako čtenář," <u>ignoroval</u> Harry otázku.
I48	As they turned onto Parsonage Lane in Sagaponack, they were moving due east <u>with the elongated shadow of the car running</u> ahead of them.	Když v Sagaponacku zahruli do Parsonage Lane a jeli k východu, <u>běžel</u> před nimi prodloužený <u>stín</u> auta.
I58	Each time she hit the tin, <u>aiming</u> deliberately low, she hit the ball hard enough so that the resounding tin was loud.	Pokaždé, když <u>mířila</u> na tin a záměrně nízko, zasáhla míček dostatečně tvrdě, aby se plechový pásek hlučně rozezněl.
I60	He sat <u>leaning</u> over his breakfast, peering into a small handheld mirror; ...	<u>Nahýbal se</u> nad snídání a nakukoval do malého ručního zrcátka.
I64	The wind quickly blew some of the paper all around, but the gardener was dissatisfied with the results; he ran <u>limping</u> through the pile of paper, kicking his feet like a child in a heap of leaves.	Vítr okamžitě několik kousků papíru rozfoukal do všech stran, ale zahradník nebyl s výsledkem spokojen. Hbitě <u>dokulhal</u> doprostřed hromady a kopal nohama jako dítě v kupce listů.

Divergent Correspondences: Verbless Constructions

#	original	translation
B18	Sophie glanced up, <u>looking</u> surprised.	Sophie <u>překvapeně</u> vzhledla.
B27	THE DOOR ISN'T FULLY CLOSED! <u>Feeling</u> a surge of panic, Vernet shoved hard against the outside of the door, but it refused to budge.	Dveře nejsou zamčené! Vernet se <u>v panice</u> pokusil dveře přitlačit volnou rukou, a tak je dovéřít. Marně.
B31	"There!" Langdon said, <u>feeling</u> excited to see the huge complex of the Roland Garros tennis stadium looming ahead.	"Tamhle!" křikl Langdon <u>vzrušeně</u> , když spatřil obrovský komplex Roland Garros, který se právě objevil přímo před nimi.

#	original	translation
B46	Everyone had seen the paintings of Knights Templar <u>wearing</u> white tunics emblazoned with red equal-armed crosses.	Každý už nejspíš někdy viděl nějakou malbu, zobrazující rytíře templářského řádu <u>v</u> bílých pláštích označených jasně červenými rovnoramennými kříži.
B50	Not to be confused with PI, Stettner added, <u>grinning</u> .	"Neplet' se si ho s pí," dodal Stettner <u>s úsměvem</u> .
G11	<u>Using</u> a series of grunts and gun thrusts, he lined the eight litigators up against the wall, and when their positions suited him he turned his attention to me.	Muž <u>za pomoci</u> řady temných zavrčení a pobídek hlavní vyrovnal všech osm advokátů podél zdi čelem k sobě, a když se mu jejich rozestavení zamlouvalo, obrátil svou pozornost ke mně.
G18	As the minutes dragged on, I caught myself wondering how in the world the other four hundred lawyers in the building would manage to bill <u>while waiting</u> for the hostage crisis to end.	Jak se minuty táhly, přistihl jsem se, že uvažuji, jak se těm zbývajícím čtyřem stovkám právníků podaří naučtovat někomu <u>tu dobu čekání</u> , až skončí celá patálie s rukojmími.
G38	The Lexus was parked near a shed, <u>facing</u> us.	Lexus byl zaparkovaný poblíž budky, <u>přední částí směrem k nám</u> .
G42	It was twenty feet long, solid walnut like most of the furniture at Drake & Sweeney, and <u>with</u> me on one end and <u>Umstead grunting</u> on the other, we managed to inch it over about six feet until Mister said stop.	Byl to šestimetrový těžký stůl, vyrobený z masivního ořechu jako většina nábytku ve firmě Drake & Sweeney. Chopil jsem se ho na jedné straně a <u>Umstead s hekáním</u> na druhé a podařilo se nám ho po kouskách odstrkat asi dva metry, než nám Pán řekl, abychom toho nechali.
G50	I'd even rehearsed it <u>driving</u> to Bethesda.	Dokonce jsem si to <u>cestou</u> do Bethesda zkoušel v autě.
G58	Exhibit C was a thorough list of the personal property, beginning with the den and <u>ending</u> in the empty bedroom.	Seznam C zahrnoval všechny osobní předměty, které jsme vlastnili, od pracovny <u>po</u> prázdnou ložnici.
I14	'Well...' he began, <u>sounding</u> like her father, ...	"No. . .," začal, <u>podobně</u> jako její otec.
I28	<u>Sitting or standing</u> , he squared his shoulders in an unnatural way; his body maintained a tense, almost military overerectness.	<u>Vestoje i vsedě</u> měl nepřírozeně vzpřímená ramena a tělo zachovávalo strnulý, téměř vojenský postoj.
I31	She would have gone on, <u>babbling</u> insincerities, but Hannah stopped her.	Byla by <u>v tom</u> neupřímném <u>blábolení</u> pokračovala, ale Hana ji zarazila.
I43	Eddie occupied one end of the middle row, as if he might have arrived late for the photograph and, <u>feigning</u> a fashionable lack of concern, had slipped into the frame at the last second.	Eddie stál na konci prostřední řady, jako kdyby dorazil k fotografování pozdě, a <u>s módně předstíraným nezájmem</u> vklouzl do záběru na poslední chvíli.
I47	Ruth crept out of her bed and tiptoed through the master bathroom to the master bedroom, where her father lay <u>smelling</u> of whiskey or gin - as strongly as a car smells of motor oil and gasoline in a closed garage.	Rút se vyplížila z postele a po špičkách šla přes koupelnu do ložnice, kde <u>v oparu</u> whisky nebo ginu, stejně silném, jako je auto v uzavřené garáži cítit motorovým olejem nebo benzinem, ležel otec.
I52	When they got out of the car in Ruth's driveway, Hannah stood <u>hugging</u> herself while Eddie opened the trunk.	Když na Rútině příjezdové cestě vystoupili z auta, Hana podupávala <u>s rukama obtočenýma okolo těla</u> , než Eddie otevřel kufr.

#	original	translation
I57	They ate and drank, <u>wearing</u> just the towels around their waists - Ruth with her breasts defiantly bare.	Jedli a pili, jen <u>s</u> ručníky obtočenými kolem boků - Rút s vyzyvavě obnaženými řadry.
I69	... he was sure that every girl who fell into Trollope never rose again. An army of girls had perished <u>while reading</u> him - all of them dying in their sleep!	Byl si jistý, že žádná dívka, která čte Trollopa, už nevstane nikdy, že celá armáda dívek <u>při četbě</u> jeho knih usnula a ve spánku zemřela!

Zero Correspondences

#	original	translation
B10	Getting out of bed, he walked to the marble shower. <u>Stepping</u> inside, he let the powerful jets massage his shoulders.	Pak vstal z postele, přešel k mramorové sprše a nechal si ramena masírovat proudy vody.
B40	"... Jacques, being a man of prominence, did not have the luxury of disappearing. It only made sense that Sophie, <u>being</u> the eldest, would stay in Paris to be taught and raised by Jacques, close to the heart and protection of the Priory."	"... Jacques byl už tehdy významný muž, a nemohl se tedy jen tak ztratit. Rozhodli jsme se proto, že Sophie zůstane v Paříži a Jacques ji vychová, v blízkosti srdce Převorství a také pod jeho ochranou."
B42	Sophie had no idea. <u>Facing</u> front again, she leaned forward and excitedly asked the driver, "CONNAISSEZ-VOUS LA RUE HAXO?"	To Sophie netušila. Naklonila se k řidiči a vzrušeně se ho zeptala: "Connaissez-vous la Rue Haxo?"
B70	Rémy had pictured the beach towns on the Côte d'Azur, where he planned to live out his days <u>basking</u> in the sun and letting others serve him for a change.	Remy si představoval pláž v Toulonu, kde chtěl prožít zbytek svých dnů a nechat ostatní, aby pro změnu sloužili zase jemu.
I27	Under the tires of the Chevy, the crunching of the perfect stones in the driveway <u>leading</u> to the Vaughn mansion sounded like the breaking bones of small animals.	Křupání dokonalých oblázků pod pneumatikami chevroletu na příjezdové cestě znělo jako lámání kostí zvířátek.